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THE GOSPEL AND THOSE who accept it should not be protected with the sword, neither should they thus protect themselves. . . . . True, believing Christians are as sheep in the midst of wolves, sheep for the slaughter. They must be baptized in anxiety and trouble, tribulation, persecution, suffering and death. They must be tried in the fire and must reach the fatherland of eternal rest, not by slaying bodily enemies but by overcoming spiritual foes. They use neither the worldly sword nor engage in war, since among them taking human life has ceased entirely, for we are no longer under the Old Covenant.

—*Conrad Grebel,* September 5, 1524,
in his letter to Thomas Muenzer.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Volume I July 1927 Number 3

Editorial

WHOLE-HEARTED ALLEGIANCE TO CHRIST'S TEACHINGS ON PEACE, LOVE, and nonresistance has been a basic principle and practise of the Mennonite Church from the beginning of its history, an essential element of historic Mennonitism. Mennonites everywhere consistently maintained this principle, with a few exceptions in Holland, down to the period of the Napoleonic wars. In the past century however the principle and its practice has been practically abandoned everywhere in Europe outside of Russia, with few exceptions. In America however it has been almost universally maintained.

The World War put the Mennonites of America to a severe test of their peace principles. Certain groups of Mennonites were not able to withstand the pressure, the largest defections being among the churches adhering to the General Conference of Mennonites of North America east of the Mississippi. On the whole, however, the Russian Mennonites, the Hutterites, and the main branch of the Mennonites, remained true to the principle. The terrible consequences of the war have also led some of the European Mennonites to a renewed examination of this historic Mennonite principle and at least in Holland has led to a positive revival of the principle and practice. This revival has found organized expression in the "Arbeidsgroep tot bevordering van trouw aan het beginsel der weerlosheid onder Doopsgezinden", organized in Amsterdam in 1921 and affiliated with the Gemeentedagsbewegung. The World War also led to a revival of pacifism in general, especially in the United States.

Thus in view of the renewed interest of Mennonites in their own peace position as well as the interest of thousands of others in genuine pacifism it is eminently fitting that the historic position of the Mennonite Church on the question of nonresistance and peace be made perfectly clear and presented in an authoritative fashion. In this issue the REVIEW begins the publication of a series of articles by John Horsch entitled, *An His-*

torical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Nonresistance. The author presents a thorough study of the problem based on the sources. The plan of the series is to present extracts from the original sources such as statements from Mennonite leaders, catechisms, confessions, etc., showing from the mouths of Mennonites themselves what the Church has stood for. This material will be presented in two or three articles, of which the first instalment dealing with the testimony of the Church in the *Sixteenth Century* appears in this issue. The concluding article will be a summarizing exposition and interpretation of the position of the Church in the light of the documents presented. Such a comprehensive undertaking based on the sources has never been attempted, and practically nothing of this nature has been published in English. The character of John Horsch's previous work in Mennonite history will guarantee scrupulous accuracy and thoroughness in this present work. The articles will be published by the Mennonite Publishing House in booklet form later.

The series of articles by Mr. Horsch does not attempt a history of the experiences of the Church in living out her historic peace principles. Such a history would be exceedingly interesting and valuable. The Review is fortunate however to be able to publish just such a history dealing with a limited area of Mennonite history, the history of the application of the peace principles of the Mennonites in colonial Pennsylvania to 1783. Wilbur J. Bender presents a thorough and extensive study of *The Pacifism of the Mennonites, Amish Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania to 1783* based on original research. The study throws much light on Pennsylvania colonial history in general as well as being of outstanding importance for Mennonite History. It is the type of work which must be done not only for other periods such as the Civil War period and the World War period in American Mennonite history and the various periods in European Mennonite history for this particular principle, but also for other aspects of Mennonite life and faith. A rich mine of material awaits the patient conscientious work of the research historian who is willing to undertake such work. Because of the length of the article it will be necessary to publish it in two instalments. The first instalment will cover the history up to the period beginning in 1763. Because of the similarity between the experiences of Schwenckfelders and Mennonites in the maintenance of this principle in colonial times, the Schwenckfelders are also included in the account as given.

It is not often given to an American Mennonite journal to publish an unpublished document bearing on the Mennonites from a European archive. Such, however, is the case with the publication of

Conrad Grebel's Letter to Andreas Castelberger in this issue of the REVIEW. All of the extant letters of Conrad Grebel were thought to have been published in the *Vadianische Briefsammlung* by the "Historische Verein" of St. Gall, Switzerland some decades ago, with the exception of the letter to Thomas Muenzer which had been published by Cornelius in his *Geschichte des Muensterschen Aufruhrs.* However in the course of the preparation of the Grebel biography by Professors Correll and Bender of Goshen College a reference to another letter of Grebel's was stumbled onto. The letter was finally found in the Zurich Staatsarchiv and a photostatic copy was immediately secured. Professor Yoder of Goshen College made a transcription and translated the Latin into English. Since the letter has never been published it was thought wise to publish the original Latin text together with the English translation. Since the cooperation of Swiss and German scholars is desired by the editors in the solution of certain problems in connection with the letter, a German version with notes is also given. The editors of the letter will appreciate assistance from any source in determination of the recipient of the letter as well as the date of writing, and other problems discussed in the notes. As a late letter of Grebel and one written during the trying period of the first year of the Swiss Brethren movement, the letter is of vital importance.

THE MENNONITE CHURCH FACES MANY PROBLEMS IN THIS GENERATION, but none is perhaps more urgent than the problem of the education of the youth of the church. Tendencies in modern secular education emphasize the increasing need for an effective presentation of the faith and ideals of the church to the oncoming generation, as well as the training of future workers and leaders. These two objectives alone are the justification for the assumption of the tremendous task of an extensive educational program by the church in view of the excellent training in general culture and preparation for professional life which may be secured elsewhere. It is these aspects of the problem together with the problem of financing this important program which concerned Bishop A. J. Steiner in his address at the Christian Life Conference at Goshen College in February, 1927, which is here published under the title *The Mennonite Church and the Education of Her Youth.* From his practical experience of a generation in the pastorate and almost as long as bishop, Bishop Steiner brings a practical message, and one that is timely in view of the recent launching of a campaign for endowment for the colleges under the Mennonite Board of Education.

THE NUMBER OF DOCUMENTS AND OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE MENNONITE Church in America which have been preserved to the present time is

surprisingly small. In recent years church records, minutes, etc. have been more carefully preserved, but there are still few if any congregations among the descendants of the Swiss Brethren (Mennonites) which have official archives. Records dating back more than fifty years are a rarity. It is by good fortune that the REVIEW was able to secure for publication the two manuscript certificates of church membership which are reproduced in this issue, one from 1817 from Montbeliard, France, and the other from 1842 from Wayne County, Ohio. Both letters were kindly loaned by Bishop Eli Frey of Wauseon, Ohio, with whose kind consent they are published. No doubt other such documents might be found equally worthy of publication. The editors will welcome communication regarding such matters for publication.

THE OCTOBER ISSUE OF THE REVIEW WILL CONTAIN THE SECOND instalments of the two articles on Mennonite Peace Principles by John Horsch and W. J. Bender respectively, an article on Anabaptism in Tyrol by Dr. Correll, and the third instalment of the bibliography of American Mennonite books, *Mennonitica Americana,* which had to be omitted from this issue. Two important documents from the colonial period of American Mennonite history will be reprinted with introductions, namely, the Petition Against Military Service to the Pennsylvania Assembly of 1775, and the Protest Against Slavery of 1688. A number of extensive book reviews and minor notes will also appear.

The January number will be the Michael Sattler number as described in the April issue, with the original text and translation of all of the Sattler documents including the Schlatten Articles of 1527.

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An Historical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Nonresistance

John Horsch

Bibliographical Note

A study of this subject from the primary sources has for some time been a desideratum, especially in view of the fact that a number of writers have defended the opinion that the early Mennonites did not hold the principle of nonresistance and did not disapprove of all war. These writers are of the European Mennonite circles which have discarded this principle. They would have us believe that the testimony of the early Mennonites against violence and war meant merely disapproval of the prevalent religious tyranny and a protest against the insinuation that they were insurrectionists like the rebellious peasants and the Anabaptists of Muenster.

The most prominent writer defending this view was the late Dutch Mennonite historian Karl Vos. In the organ of the "Doopsgezinden" (Mennonites) of Holland (*Zondagsbode,* August 17, 1919) he raised the question "Were Our Forefathers Conscientious Objectors?" and answered it negatively. In his booklet, *De Weerlosheid der Doopsgezinden* (1924), he took the same attitude on this question. The opinion that the early Mennonites did not hold the principle of nonresistance was also defended by Dr. Cornelius Bergmann in a series of articles printed a number of years ago in the *Zionspilger,* the organ of the Mennonites of Switzerland. The editor of the *Mennonitische Blaetter,* (printed principally for the Mennonites of North Germany), Pastor H. van der Smissen, of Hamburg, wrote various articles defending the same opinion (*Mennonitische Blaetter,* 1888, Nos. 21 and 22; 1910, Nos. 12 and 13; 1916, No. 1). Pastor Johannes Dyserinck, a Mennonite minister of Holland, published in the Dutch magazine *De Gids,* Vol. I, 1890, a valuable treatise on this subject but made certain concessions to the view held by Vos and others. The most important publication on the subject is the scholarly book, *Die Wehrfreiheit der Altpreussischen Mennoniten,* by Dr. W. Mannhardt (Marienburg, 1863).

Further literature deserving mention: Neff, C., *Die Wehrlosigkeit der Mennoniten und der Weltkrieg,* in *Mennonitische Jugendwarte,* October, 1924; Horsch, J., *Die Biblische Lehre von der Wehrlosigkeit,* Scottdale, Pa., 1920, pp. 35-52; Correll, Dr. E. H., article *Friedensbewegung* in *Mennonitisches Lexikon;* Haendiges, E., *Die Lehre der Mennoniten in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* Ibersheim a. Rh., 1921, pp. 59-69.

A very interesting study of the history of the Quaker position on nonresistance and the experiences of the group in the maintenance of the principle has been made by Margaret E. Hirst in her book, *The Quakers in Peace and War, An Account of Their Peace Principles and Practice,* London, 1923. The book contains a chapter on the Mennonites.

In the present article we shall let the primary sources speak for themselves on the attitude of the Mennonites in the various centuries concerning the principle of nonresistance. From the testimony cited the reader may form his own conclusions on the question under consideration.

Introductory

The Christian Church in general has in all ages of its history recognized the fact that our Lord taught the principle of nonresistance. This may sound unbelievable but is a historical fact. The Roman Catholic Church has always held that Christ taught nonresistance, not however as a commandment but as an advice; hence, according to the doctrine of this church, those engaging in war do not transgress a divine command and do not become guilty of sin. Martin Luther, the father of Protestantism, defended a peculiar view on this question, a view which is even today held by many Protestant theologians. He taught that a Christian is to be strictly nonresistant; he must refrain from going to law and can have no part in violence and bloodshed, be it in self-defense or in war. But a Christian, he says, is also a citizen and as such he is under duty to fight in self-defense, or for the defense of others, or when the state may call him to arms. This means that when he follows the precepts of Christ, he does so as a Christian, and when he transgresses Christ's command on this point, he does this as a citizen and therefore it is not sin to him. At any rate it is important to observe that Luther as well as the Roman Catholic Church recognized the fact that the nonresistant principle is taught in Scripture. We may have more to say on this point in another place.

As to the question of the attitude of the early Christians to war it must suffice here to call attention to a book on this subject, entitled, *The Early Christian Attitude to War,* by C. John Cadoux (London, 1919). This is the standard work on this theme and is recognized as such by Professor Adolf von Harnack, of Berlin, the author of a book on the same subject which had previously held first place among the books on this phase of church history.[1] Cadoux' book shows that the primitive Christians took substantially the same attitude to violence and war as the early Waldenses and the Mennonites and other nonresistant Christians of the Reformation period. Participation in war as well as suing at law was forbidden.

The Waldenses have been mentioned above as a nonresistant sect. The question has been raised as to why the modern Waldenses (in Italy and America) do not object to military service, while in medieval times the Waldenses held the principle of nonresistance. The answer is that during the Reformation period the Italian Waldenses yielded to influences from a type of Protestantism which defended the rightfulness of a union of church and state. In 1532, after they had been in touch with Reformed theologians for a number of years, they held a synod at Angrogna in the presence of William Farel and other theologians from Geneva, the later

headquarters of Calvinism. With the exception of a small minority they repudiated those doctrines and principles in which they differed from the Reformed Church including the rejection of the oath and military service, and accepted the doctrine of predestination.[2] They became a branch of the Reformed Church.

The Peace Testimony of Peter Chelchitzki

Peter Chelchitzki, a farmer of Chelchitz in Bohemia, was born about the year 1395. Little is known of his life and his religious connections. He was probably connected with one of the Hussite groups. That he was a consistent defender of the principle of nonresistance is evident from a number of his extant books. The following quotation from him will serve as evidence that about a century before the rise of the Mennonite Church there were, even outside of the Waldensian Church, those who maintained a strong and consistent testimony against violence and war. He says:

> Worldly rulers have contentions for the sake of material wealth and worldly honor. Let some one threaten their sovereignty and at once they engage in war. They seize the men and bring them together like a herd and drive them into conflict where those on the one side kill and rob those on the other. . . . And the worst is that they undertake to compel Christians to engage in such conflicts, for on both sides there may be a few who cannot with a good, clear conscience kill and rob others. Yea, brother goes against brother to harm him, when according to the Christian faith he should die for him. Compelled by self-seeking authority he goes out to kill and rob him, and does not have the insight and love to follow the Lord into death rather than become guilty of such evil deeds.
>
> The one party is praying for their governors and the other party for theirs that they may be victorious. Each party prays for victory against the other. And both are named Christians though each one is wishing well only to his own party. The Christians on both sides engage wrongfully in bloody strife, and pray that they may be victorious over the other side. Whom, now, will God hear? Since on both sides they are Christians they combat unlawfully with each other and their prayer is not of faith. God does not hear them. The faith of these Christians is torn to shreds and their prayer is powerless since it is aimed at shedding the blood of brethren. And if those with whom they are engaged in such conflict are not brothers, they are enemies and God has commanded to pray for such and to do them good.
>
> The whole rabble of these divided bands are called Christians

and together they pray: Our Father which art in heaven. They approach God in this way while each party has in mind the destruction of the other. They think they are serving God by shedding others' blood. And on both sides they say: Forgive us as we forgive. And every party seeks to increase its military force and never thinks of forgiving the other so long as they can hope to overcome them. Therefore their prayers are great blasphemies against God.[3]

Mennonites and Anabaptists

The spiritual ancestors of the groups of churches which are today known as Mennonites consisted at the time of the Reformation of three groups, namely the Swiss Brethren (in Switzerland, South Germany, Alsace, and Moravia), the Obbenites (in the Netherlands and North Germany), and the Hutterian Brethren (principally in Moravia). Menno Simons was not the founder of any of these groups. He united with the Obbenites (named after Obbe Philips) in 1536 and soon became their principal leader. His field of labor was Holland, North Germany, and Holstein. The churches in these countries were the first to use the name Mennonites.

The Mennonites who came to America before 1873 (when the immigration of Russian and Prussian Mennonites began) were with few exceptions descendants of the Swiss Brethren. The majority of the Mennonite congregations of America were originally of this group. In Switzerland the churches of this communion have never owned the name Mennonite; they are today commonly known as "Taufer" while in France they are called "Anabaptistes".

In the Reformation period the Hutterian Brethren were a distinct group since they practised "community of goods" based on Christ's teaching of Love. Today about half of their number have discarded the community life and have adopted the name Mennonites. The entire group now resides in the Canadian Northwest and South Dakota.

In the Reformation period not only these three groups of churches but all sects which disowned infant baptism were called Anabaptists. This included a number of sects from which the Swiss Brethren, Obbenites and Hutterians differed on the principle of nonresistance and on other vital points of doctrine and practice. Menno Simons says of certain Anabaptist sects, such as the followers of John of Leyden and David Joris, that they erred even more gravely than the Roman Catholic Church. Of all parties known by the name of Anabaptists only the above mentioned three groups survived the persecutions. It is also noteworthy that before the rise of the Swiss Brethren none of the other sects that were known by

the name of Anabaptists existed. Therefore the view that the Swiss Brethren descended from unorthodox Anabaptist sects is untenable. In this study attention is confined to the above mentioned three groups which today are generally known by the name of Mennonites, and when reference is made to the three groups collectively the designation "Mennonites" will be used although this name was not applied to all of them in the time of the Reformation.

The Sixteenth Century

Testimony of the Swiss Brethren

The earliest testimony against war by a leader of the Swiss Brethren comes from Andreas Castelberger, dating from the year 1523—about two years before the first congregations of the Brethren were organized. Lorenz Hochrutiner was asked by the Zurich authorities what Castelberger had preached in the meetings held by those who later began to practice believers' baptism and organized themselves as a congregation. He replied that Castelberger "had said much about war, showing that the divine doctrine is vehemently opposed to it and that war is sin".[4] It may be worth noticing in this connection that this was also the position maintained by Ulrich Zwingli, though this point is not within the scope of our discussion. Professor Walter Koehler, of Zurich, editor of the new edition of Zwingli's Works, concedes that Zwingli was in that period a pacificist.[5]

Another important testimony against war was given in September, 1524, by Conrad Grebel, the principal founder of the Swiss Brethren Church, in a letter to Thomas Muenzer. His outspoken style in this citation is evidently to be ascribed to the fact that Muenzer had taken the sword and it was Grebel's purpose in this letter to show him his error on this vital point. Grebel wrote:

> The Gospel and those who accept it should not be protected with the sword, neither should they thus protect themselves. . . . . True, believing Christians are as sheep in the midst of wolves, sheep for the slaughter. They must be baptized in anxiety and trouble, tribulation, persecution, suffering and death. They must be tried in the fire and must reach the fatherland of eternal rest, not by slaying bodily enemies but by overcoming spiritual foes. They use neither the worldly sword nor engage in war, since among them taking human life has ceased entirely, for we are no longer under the Old Covenant.[6]

Felix Manz, one of the most influential leaders of the early Swiss Brethren, said: "No Christian smites with the sword nor resists evil."[7] The death sentence pronounced over him on January 5, 1527, charged that Manz held that no Christian can be a magistrate nor execute the

death sentence on any person, nor put to death or punish any one.[8]

The first confession of faith of the Swiss Brethren is the Schlatten Confession drawn up by Michael Sattler and adopted by a conference held at Schlatten in the southern part of Baden, near Schaffhausen, February 24, 1527. Sattler was, after the death of Grebel and Manz, the most prominent leader of the Swiss Brethren. He was burned at the stake on May 21, 1527, at Rottenburg on the Neckar. On the question of peace and nonresistance this confession contains the following articles.[9]

> Jesus Christ has made us free from the servitude of the flesh and meet for the service of God through the spirit which He has given us. Therefore we shall surely lay down the unchristian, yea satanic weapons of force, such as sword, armor and the like, together with all their use, whether for the protection of friends or against personal enemies; and this in the strength of the words of Christ, "I say unto you that ye resist not evil."
>
> The government using the sword to punish and put to death the evil-doers and to guard and protect the good is an appointment of God outside the perfection of Christ. In the law of the Old Covenant the sword is ordained against the evil for punishment and death, and to exercise it the worldly governments are appointed.
>
> In the perfection of Christ, however, church discipline alone is used for the correction and exclusion of those who have sinned, not indeed for the destruction of the flesh but as an admonition and injunction to sin no more.
>
> Here it is asked by many who do not know Christ's will toward us whether a Christian may or should use the sword against the evil for protecting or defending the good or for love's sake.
>
> Our unanimous answer is: Christ teaches and commands that we should learn of Him, for He is meek and lowly in heart and we shall find rest to our souls. Now Christ did not say of the heathen woman taken in adultery that she should be stoned to death according to the law of His Father, and yet He says: "I do nothing of myself but as my Father has taught me." He spoke to her words of mercy and forgiveness and admonition to sin no more. In such a way we too should act, according to the rule of church discipline.

The Schlatten Confession and nearly all other Mennonite confessions contain articles on the question whether a Christian may be a magistrate, or an executive of the civil government. This is an important point, in view of the assertion made by a number of writers that the early Mennonites did not repudiate war but only violence in private life, persecution, and insurrection against the government.[10] The writers who have de-

fended such views are of the opinion that the early Mennonites, since they recognized the government as a divine appointment, had no objection to the use of force by a Christian when acting in the service of the government, as an officer of the law or a soldier. But the records show that they did not permit members of their communion to accept civil offices which involve a violation of the principle of nonresistance. Besides, the above quoted testimony of Castelberger, Grebel, Manz and the Schlatten Confession, as well as numerous other quotations to be given, can leave no doubt as to the early Mennonite position in respect to war. The Schlatten confession has the following article on the question whether a Christian may be a magistrate or an executive of the government:

> Again it is asked, May a Christian be a magistrate if he is appointed to such an office? Our answer is that Christ, when he was to be made king, fled and did not regard the law given by His Father [under the Old Covenant]. Thus also we should do and follow Him, then we shall not walk in darkness, for He himself says: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." And He forbids His followers the use of the power of the sword and says: "Ye know that the princes of the gentiles exercise dominion over them, etc., but it shall not be so among you." Again, Paul says: "Whom He foreknew, He also predestinated to be conformed to the image of His Son." And Peter says that Christ suffered, not reigned, leaving us an example that we should follow His steps.
>
> That a Christian should not be a magistrate is made evident by these reasons: The civil government [is not of a religious or spiritual character, but] is according to the flesh; the work of the Christian is according to the Spirit. The things with which the civil government has to do endure but for a time; the possessions of the Christian are eternal in the heavens. (II Cor. 5:1). The former's citizenship is of this world; that of the Christian is of heaven (Phil. 3:20). The weapons of their conflict and war are carnal and used only against the flesh; the weapons of the Christian are spiritual and used against the strongholds of the devil. The world is armed with weapons of steel and iron, but the Christian is armed with the armor of God, with truth, righteousness, peace, faith, salvation and the word of God. In short, as Christ, our Head was minded, even so should through Him all members of His body be minded.

The following is taken from a sermon preached by Hans Marquardt, a minister of the Swiss Brethren, at St. Gall, Switzerland, in 1528.

> We confess that civil government is necessary and is a divine

appointment and that the use of the sword by the government is good and necessary, and we say with Paul, Rom. 13, that every man should be subject and obedient to the higher power, not only to a mild and peaceful but also to a tyrannical government, for the reason that there is no power but of God. Therefore all believers, under whatever government they may live, will not complain of heavy burdens, nor will they resist the government or cause trouble or uproar on account of what they may be called upon to bear. In matters of their faith, however, the believers are responsible to God alone to whom, they owe more obedience than to man. Therefore all our brethren esteem their faith in God through Christ Jesus, our Savior, as the highest, greatest and most valuable thing, and of this we do not suffer ourselves to be robbed even if our life is at stake. But in matters which do not concern faith and conscience and do not conflict with our duty to God, we are ready to obey the civil government in anything that may be asked of us. And if the government, contrary to justice and right, confiscates our property and reduces us to poverty, we bear and suffer it, since it is impossible for us to escape such oppression without transgression and disturbance.

But that the Christian should be an executive of the government, or a magistrate, we do not admit. Christ says, Luke 22, "The kings of the gentiles exercise lordship over them and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so, but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief as he that doth serve." Here the believers are forbidden the execution of government by force. And the fact that under the Old Covenant God has permitted His people the use of the sword does not concern or bind us, for the old law has been replaced by the new commandment of Christ that we should love our enemies. . . . The believer is not to be an earthly ruler, or to use violence, or go to war, or use the sword.[11]

In the discussions held in Zofingen, in the canton Bern, Switzerland, in July, 1532, the spokesman of the Swiss Brethren said:

In Matthew, chapter 5, Christ forbids the believers all use of force. He says that rather than go to law they should permit others to defraud them, should not strive with any one and should give the cloak to him who takes away their coat. The civil government was ordained of God to punish the evildoers and protect the good. . . . We believe the civil government should be separate from the church of Christ and not be established in it. Whatever we owe to the government: interest, tithes, taxes and customs, we give willingly

and obediently. We obey the government in everything that may be asked of us that is not contrary to God.[12]

In March of the year 1538 an eight days' discussion was held in the city of Bern. Here the representatives of the Brethren said:

> Christ, in teaching the principle of nonresistance, does not desire to abolish the civil government. He recognizes the rightfulness of the government, but teaches that it should be outside the Christian church. This is our position on this question. . . . . On this point the Gospel differs from the Mosaic law.[13]

Heinrich Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli as the head of the state church of the Canton Zurich, wrote two books against the Swiss Brethren which were published in 1531 and 1560. He states that the Brethren considered war "the greatest evil conceivable."[14] Further he says:

> They believe that Christians should stand ready to suffer [rather than strike back]. No Christian may be a ruler. The government should not undertake to regulate matters of faith and religious practice. Christians do not resist violence and do not take recourse to law. They do not use the law courts. Christians do not kill. The punishment used by them is not imprisonment and the sword but only church discipline. They do not defend themselves, therefore they do not go to war and are not obedient to the government on this point.[15]

Appended to Bullinger's second work mentioned above is a booklet written by the Swiss Brethren giving their reasons why they did not make common cause with the state church. The following citation is taken from this booklet.

> The theologians of the established church have in the first period of their reformatory labors advocated the Christian, evangelical opinion that Christians should not protect themselves, or their evangelical doctrine, by worldly, carnal force, sword, weapons or resistance, nor defend themselves in this way against their adversaries and opponents, but should use only the word of God as the sword of the Spirit and other weapons which are mentioned in Ephesians, chapter 6; and that they should not avenge themselves, not resist evil; the worldly, Mosaic sword should not be found among them; they should not seek justice before a court of law on account of earthly possessions or honor, but should be willing to suffer and bear the cross, if they would be Christians. And this, their former doctrine, is clearly founded on the New Testament Scriptures.[16]

Balthasar Hubmaier, one of the most influential Anabaptist leaders, was not a member of the Swiss Brethren Church and did not defend the principle of nonresistance. In his booklet, *On the Sword*, he addressed

himself to the Brethren aiming to persuade them by many arguments that their anti-war position was unscriptural. He advocated the view that the Christian may use the sword both in war and as an officer of the government. It is worthy of note that in this booklet he speaks of the Brethren as another party to which he did not belong.[17] At Nicolsburg, in Moravia (Czecho-Slovakia), where Hubmaier labored with great success under the protection of the Lords of Lichtenstein, his followers were called "Schwertler" (men of the sword) while the nonresistant Brethren were given the name of "Stabler" (men of the staff).

A position about midway between Hubmaier and the Swiss Brethren was held by Jacob Gross who for a time (1525) was a member of Hubmaier's congregation at Waldshut. Having been imprisoned in Strasburg, he declared himself willing to do "non-combatant" military service but would not consent to make any attempt at taking human life, for, said he, "to kill a human being is not written in any commandment of God."

In the discussions held at Frankenthal in the Palatinate from May 28 to June 19 of the year 1571, between representatives of the Swiss Brethren and the Reformed state church, the spokesmen of the Brethren said:

> We agree with you in the opinion that a Christian should not revenge himself, but Christ teaches (Matt. 5) that even if we have been wronged, we should not cause the government to use violence against any one for our sake. Our thought is not that the office of the magistrate should not be recognized, yet we would not by our accusation be the cause that vengeance is exercised by the government against the transgressor.
>
> You say that a Christian could be a magistrate and punish evildoers with the sword. We cannot accept this without proof from Christ and the apostles.
>
> We confess that the magistracy, according to Paul's teaching (Rom. 13) is ordained of God. But that a Christian may serve in such an office, to exercise vengeance by the sword, for such teaching we demand scriptural evidence.
>
> All believers are pointed to the example of Christ. His apostles have neither engaged in war nor used the sword for punishment but have manifested love toward enemies as well as friends.
>
> You say that the peace of Christ should be within the heart of the believer but that he could nevertheless engage in war if he is asked to do so. We do not find an apostolic example that would show this.[26]

A spokesman of the Swiss Brethren of the Canton Zurich in a "Supplication" to the government in 1589, points out that it is the business of the government to protect the good and punish evildoers by the use of force, therefore, he says, "to be a Christian and a magistrate involves a contradiction: hence it is difficult for a person to be both at the same time." He further says that they recognize the government as necessary for the sake of those not ruled by the Holy Spirit. [18]

Testimony of the Hutterites

Jacob Hutter, after whom the Hutterian Brethren were named,[19] wrote in a letter to the Moravian authorities, in 1535, after the congregation under his care had been driven from their dwellings by a detachment of soldiers upon the command of the authorities:

> At the present time we find ourselves camping on the wide, wide heath; if God will, without causing disadvantage to any one. We will not do a wrong or injury to any man, yea, not to our greatest enemy, neither to Ferdinandus [King of Austria] nor any one else, great or small. All our actions and conduct, word and work, life and walk, are open; there is no secret about it all. Rather than knowingly to rob a man of a penny we would willingly give up a hundred guilders. And before we would give our greatest enemy a blow with the hand, to say nothing of spear, sword or halberd as is the manner of the world, we would be willing to lose our lives.
>
> We have no weapons of defense, such as spears or guns, as every one sees and knows. In short, in our preaching and speaking and our whole walk of life our object is to live in peace and unity according to the truth and will of God, as the true followers of Christ.[20]

The Confession of Faith of the Hutterian Brethren, written by Peter Riedemann, contains articles on the point of nonresistance and war. The exact time when this confession was written is unknown. It is supposed that the first edition was printed in 1545. Following are pertinent quotations from the confession:[21]

On War

> Christ, the Prince of peace, has established His kingdom, that is His church, and has purchased it by His blood. In this kingdom all worldly warfare has ended. (Luke 2:14; Eph. 5: 1,2; Isa. 11, 6-9; Micah 4, 3). Therefore a Christian does not have part in war nor does he wield the sword to execute vengeance, as also Paul exhorts and says: "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written: Vengeance is mine; I will repay, cannot please God" (Rom. 8:8).

saith the Lord." (Deut. 32:35; Heb. 12: 19-21). Since vengeance is the Lord's and not ours, it should be committed to Him and is not to be exercised by us. Being followers of Christ we must manifest His nature who, though He had all power over His enemies, did not recompense evil for evil (1. Pet. 2: 21-23). He did not use His power against His enemies nor did He permit others to defend Him. He said to Peter: "Put up thy sword" (Matt. 26:52; John 18: 10, 11). Here is seen with what sort of a mighty army our King met His enemies and in what manner He slays His adversaries and executes vengeance. He heals the high priest's servant's ear which Peter had cut off. Now He who has done this says: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me" (Matt. 16:24; Mark 8: 32; Luke 9:23).

Christ wills that we should do as He has done, hence He commands us and says: "But I say unto you that ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" (Matt. 5: 39). This shows clearly that we should not avenge ourselves nor engage in war.

But if it be said that David who was loved of God, and other saints, have waged war, therefore it is right now, if there be occasion or authorization for it; our answer is: No. That we should not do such things, although David and other saints engaged in them, is clear from the above quoted words of Christ: "Resist not evil," though "to them of old time it was said: 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth'" (Matt. 5:38). Here Christ himself points out the difference, therefore there is no need of using many words. Christ's words indicate that a Christian must not go to war nor use vengeance. But he who notwithstanding does these things has denied Christ's nature and forsaken His ways.

On Making Weapons

Since, as said above, Christians should make their swords into useful tools, or lay them down, they can much less make swords, for such weapons serve for nothing but to kill, for the wounding and destruction of men; and Christ came not to destroy men, therefore He rebuked His disciples and said: "Ye know not of what manner of spirit ye are." (Luke 9: 55). As if to say: Does the spirit of grace teach you to destroy others, or would you act in a carnal way? (Gal. 3:3). If you would be my disciples, you must be led by my Spirit and not walk after the flesh; "for they that are in the flesh cannot please God" (Rom. 8:8).

Now, since Christians should not use or exercise vengeance, they

must not make the weapons by which such vengeance and destruction may be exercised, lest they make themselves partakers of others' sins. Therefore we make neither swords, spears, guns nor other similar weapons. But whatever is made in the interest and for the daily use of men, such as bread knives, axes, hoes, and the like, we may consistently make and do make. But if some one would say that it is possible even with such tools to injure or kill a man, our reply is that these things are not made for such purposes; therefore we are free to make them. But if some one would use these tools to any one's injury, this is not our responsibility; let him answer for his own deeds.

Whether a Christian May Use the Law

Since, as said above, all that is temporal is foreign to us and is not our own (Luke 16: 11, 12) therefore a Christian cannot quarrel or dispute or go to law about it but, as one who has turned away his heart from the world and directed it to the heavenlies, he is minded rather to suffer wrong, as also Paul says, I Cor. 6:7: "There is clearly a fault among you to go to law one with another. Why do you not rather take wrong? Why do you not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?"

Testimony of the Dutch Mennonites

Menno Simons' writings contain considerable material on nonresistance. Following are a few selections.

The regenerated do not go to war, nor engage in strife. They are the children of peace who have beaten their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and know of no war. They render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. Their sword is the sword of the Spirit which they wield with a good conscience through the Holy Ghost. (Part II, p. 170 b).[22]

Since we are to be conformed to the image of Christ (Rom. 8:29), how can we then fight our enemies with the sword? Does not the apostle Peter say: "For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example that ye should follow his steps; who did no sin neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, etc. (I Pet. 2: 21-23; Matt. 16:34). (Part II, p. 435b).

Peter was commanded to put up his sword into the sheath. All Christians are bidden to love their enemies, do good to those that do them evil and pray for those who abuse and persecute them; to give the cloak also if any one sue them at law for the coat; if they are

smitten on the right cheek to turn to him who abuses them the other also. Say, beloved, how can a Christian, according to the Scriptures, consistently retaliate, rebel, war, murder, slay, torture, steal, rob and burn cities and conquer countries? (Part II, p. 306b).

Again, our fortress is Christ, our defense is patience, our sword is the word of God, and our victory is the sincere, firm, unfeigned faith in Jesus Christ. Spears and swords of iron we leave to those who, alas, consider human blood and swine's blood of well-nigh equal value. He that is wise, let him judge what I mean. (Part I, p. 81b).

I am well aware that the tyrants who boast themselves Christians attempt to justify their horrible wars and shedding of blood, and would make a good work of it by referring us to Moses, Joshua, etc. But they do not reflect that Moses and his successors, with their iron sword, have served out their time and that Jesus Christ has now given us a new commandment and has girded our loins with another sword. . . . They do not consider that they use the sword of war contrary to all Evangelical Scripture against their own brethren, namely those of like faith with them who have received the same baptism and have broken the same bread with them and are thus members of the same body. (Part I, p. 198).

Captains, knights, soldiers and such like bloody men are offering to sell soul and body for money[23] and swear with uplifted hand that they will destroy cities and countries, apprehend and kill the citizens and inhabitants and rob them of their possessions, although they have never harmed them nor given them any provocation. O, what an accursed, wicked, abominable business! And yet it is said that they protect the country and people and assist in administering justice! (Part I, p. 137a).

We confess and have always confessed, as long as with our small talent we have served the word of the Lord, that the office of the magistrates is ordained of God; and we have always been obedient to them when their demands were not contrary to the Word of God, and we desire to do so all our lives. For we are not so ignorant not to know what the Word of God teaches and demands of us in this respect. Taxes and duties we pay, as Christ has taught and Himself has rendered. We pray for the imperial majesty, kings, lords, princes and all in authority, and honor and obey them. (Part II, p. 302b).

Hendrik Alewijns, of Middelburgh in Holland, who, with two other brethren, was burned alive on February 9, 1569, says in his extant con-

fession of faith, written for his children:

> It is needful to distinguish between the New and the Old Covenant. Under the Old Covenant Israel engaged in war, revenge was taken on enemies, there was fighting and taking human life; and under the old Law this was done by the will, command, permission and also help of God. But now, in the dispensation of the Gospel, under the New Covenant, these things cannot be permitted, they are plainly forbidden by the word and example of Christ, himself God and the Son of God, whom we are commanded to hear (Matt. 17:5). These things, I say, are plainly and clearly prohibited, not by man but by God himself. All revenge is denied and forbidden the people of God. They are commanded to commit all vengeance unto God not to resist evil, to give to him that taketh away the coat also the cloak, and to turn to him that smites them on the right cheek the other also; yea to love their enemies, to pray for their persecutors and to flee from them from one city to another (Matt. 5:39; Rom. 12:17; I Thess. 5:15). And they that are thus afflicted are, according to Christ's words, blessed and are promised their reward in heaven.
>
> In short, the Christian must not fight at all; and yet he must fight, but not with weapons of iron, steel, stone, wood, or other carnal weapons but with spiritual weapons which are mighty before God. Read, my children, what weapons Christians wield and what war they wage, as it is plainly and clearly set forth in Ephesians, chapter 6. Christians have no other warfare at this time, for the prophecy given with reference to this time is fulfilled that the swords should be made into plowshares and the spears into sickles, etc. Therefore we may not engage in war.[24]

A conference of Waterland Mennonites, held in 1568 at Emden in East Friesland, made the following decision concerning those who had given offence by taking part in drilling for military service: "If a brother has taken part in this, he shall desist from it, confess to sorrow for the offence and ask the forgiveness of God and the church before he may be recognized as in peace with the church.[25]

In the discussions between Mennonite and Reformed theologians, held in 124 sessions at Emden in East Friesland, from February 27 to May 17, 1578, the spokesmen of the Mennonites said:

> From the Scriptures which you have cited it cannot be shown that the office of the government including the use of the sword should be exercised by those within the church.
>
> We say that during the time when the enemy is near or before

the gates of the city, we would not with weapons of war do guard service, nor would we send another in our place. But so long as there is no occasion to fight an enemy we are willing to pay another to do such service.[27]

The short Mennonite confession of 1591, called the Concept of Cologne, contains the following article. "No vengeance is permitted; nay it is forbidden, not only with outward weapons but also to give railing for railing."[28]

In the public discussions of Leeuwarden in Friesland, in 1596, Peter of Cologne, one of the Mennonite speakers, said that a believer in Christ may fight with no material weapons but only with the weapon of the Spirit which is the Word of God.[29] He said further: "War is forbidden the believers, for we find that those who would ascend into the hill of the Lord must walk in His light and that they shall make their swords into plowshares and their spears into sickles, etc. Isaiah 2:4; Micah 4:1.[30]

During the period of the severest persecutions and until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Mennonites apparently did not appeal to any government for exemption from military service; evidently none was punished for refusing to render such service. This is to be ascribed to the obvious reason that general conscription was unknown in those times. Besides, it was during this period unlawful to permit members of the Mennonite Church to live within the borders of the state. They were treated as criminals and were not wanted in the army. The fact that there is no record of any effort on their part for exemption from military service does not mean by any means that they had no objection to it.

The German Diet (the assembly of the Estates, or representatives, of the nation) convened at Spires in 1529, passed the death sentence on all "Anabaptists." Renouncing the state church and being baptized on confession of faith was made a capital offence. It was expressly stipulated by this Diet that Anabaptists were not entitled to a hearing before a court of law and that no formal sentence need be passed. The question to be settled was simply whether the defendant had been baptized on the confession of his faith, and this, as a rule, was easy to decide. If he did not give a negative answer when asked whether he was baptized, his doom was sealed. In Roman Catholic countries even recantation would not save the life, since the law demanded that "all rebaptized persons" should be put to death.[31] The rule was that those who denied their faith were beheaded instead of being burned at the stake. Such was the fate of the Mennonite minister Gillis of Aachen who, after recantation, in 1557, was beheaded at Antwerp, and of many others.

According to the laws of the empire it was a crime to give lodging

to an "Anabaptist." Houses in which an Anabaptist had been permitted to lodge were confiscated by the government and in many instances razed. The house of a certain Jan Neulen, for example, was confiscated for no other reason than that Menno Simons had entered it without the protest of its owner. Many houses were destroyed for similar reasons and in various provinces.

This explains why during the first half century of the history of the Mennonites there is no record of any effort on their part for exemption from military service. The supposition of Vos and others that this fact is an indication that they had no objection to such service is unwarranted. There is convincing proof that the Mennonites in that early period held the principle of nonresistance.

It was in Holland, after the Mennonites had been granted toleration and the country became involved in great wars, that they for the first time encountered difficulties on account of their refusal to serve in the army. In the year 1577 Prince William of Orange granted them exemption, but this privilege was not always maintained.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Compare the review of Cadoux' book by Harnack, in *Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Leipzig, 1921, col. 126.
2. Staehelin, E., *Oekolampads Beziehungen zu den Romanen,* Basel 1917, pp. 26, 32; Fuesslin, J. C., *Beytraege zur Kirchen-Reformations-Geschichte des Schweitzerlandes,* Zuerich 1741-1753, *Vierter Teil,* pp. 406 ff.; Bender, F., *Geschichte der Waldenser,* Ulm 1850, p. 135.
3. Vogl, C., *Peter Chelchitzki, ein Prophet an der Wende der Zeiten,* Zuerich und Leipzig 1926, pp. 92-94.
4. Egli, E., *Actensammlumg zur Geschichte der Zuercher Reformation,* Zuerich 1879, No. 623. The date given by Egli is incorrect.
5. Koehler, W., *Ulrich Zwingli und die Reformation der Schweiz,* Tuebingen 1919, p. 65.
6. Cornelius, C. A., *Geschichte des Muensterischen Aufruhrs,* Leipzig 1860, Bd. 2, pp. 240-249. An English translation of this letter was published by Walter Rauschenbusch in the *American Journal of Theology,* January, 1905. It is important to note that Castelberger and Grebel defended the principle of nonresistance before the beginning of the persecution. This disproves the assertion of the chronicler Johannes Kessler, of St. Gallen, who says that this principle was accepted by them only after the government had enacted hostile measures against them. *Johannes Kessler's Sabbata,* St. Gallen 1892, p. 143.
7. Egli, E., *Die Zuericher Wiedertaeufer zur Reformationszeit,* Zuerich 1878, p. 97.
8. Egli, *Actensammlung,* No. 1109.
9. There are two modern reprints of the Schlatten Confession: by Walther Koehler, Leipzig 1908, and by Heinrich Boehmer in *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges und der Wiedertaeufer,* Heft 50-51, Bonn, 1910. A translation was published by W. J. McGlothlin in *Baptist Confessions of Faith,* Philadelphia, 1911. The citations here given are translated from the edition by Koehler.

10. This supposition is often presented in those European Mennonite circles which have discarded the principle of nonresistance. The most recent publication defending this opinion is, *De Weerloosheid der Doopsgezinden,* Amsterdam, 1924, by the late Karl Vos, a Dutch Mennonite historian.
11. Goetzinger, E., *Vadians Deutsche Historische Schriften,* Bd. 3, St. Gallen, 1877, p. 501.
12. *Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation und Gespraech zu Zoffingen inn Bernner Biet mit den Widertoeuffern,* 1532, pp. 94b, 97b.
13. The protocol of these discussions, comprising about 75,000 words, is in the State Archives of Bern. It has never been printed. The Mennonite Historical Library in Scottdale, Pa., has an *exact* certified copy.
14. Bullinger, H., *Von dem unverschampten fraefel, ergerlichem verwyrren und unwarhafftem leeren der selbsgesandten Widertoeuffern,* 1531, p. 139b.
15. Bullinger, H., *Der Widertoeufferen ursprung, fuergang, Secten, waesen, etc.,* Zuerich 1561, p. 16f.
16. *Ibid.,* p. 224. The title of the booklet is, "Verantwortung etlicher die man Taeufer nennt . . . . warum sie nicht zur Kirche gingen."
17. A translation of the booklet, *On the Sword,* was published by Henry C. Vedder in *Balthasar Hubmaier, the Leader of the Anabaptists,* New York, 1905, pp. 273-310.
18. Quoted by Bergmann, C., *Die Taeuferbewegung in Kanton Zurich,* Leipzig, 1916, p. 63.
19. The communistic life of the Hutterians has, in principle and aim, nothing in common with modern communism. It has been pointedly said that, while the former is based on the principle, "What is mine, is thine", modern communism says, "What is thine, is mine". The Hutterians of the old order have a number of flourishing congregations in South Dakota, Manitoba, and Alberta.
20. *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brueder herausgegeben von Elias Walter, durch Prof. Dr. R. Wolkan,* Macleod, Alta, 1923, p. 112.
21. *Rechenschaft unserer Religion, Lehre und Glaubens. Von den Bruedern, die man die Hutterischen nennt,* 1902, pp. 105-111.
22. The figures given with the quotations from Menno Simons indicate the places where they are found in his English *Complete Works,* Elkhart, Ind., 1871. These passages were revised by comparison with the Dutch editions of Menno's Works, of 1664 and 1681.
23. Armies in that period consisted chiefly of those who served voluntarily for hire.
24. Van Braght, T. J., *Martyrs' Mirror,* English edition, Elkhart, Ind., 1886, p. 722; Dutch edition of 1685, p. 401.
25. Quoted; Dyserinck, J., *De Weerloosheid Volgens de Doopsgezinden,* 1890. p. 120. Reprinted from the periodical, *"De Gids",* Volume I.
26. *Protocoll, Das ist Alle handlung des gesprechs zu Franckenthal in der Churfuerstlichen Pfaltz,* Heidelberg, 1571, pp. 408, 410, 428, 470, 474.
27. *Protocol, Dat is Alle handelinge des Ghesprecks tot Embden, etc.,* Amsterdam, 1616, pp. 229, 232.
28. *Concept van Ceulen, van den eersten Mey, Anno* 1591, Vlissinghe, 1666, p. 6.
29. Quoted; Mannhardt, W., *Die Wehrfreiheit der Altpreussischen Mennoniten,* Marienburg, 1863, p. 31.
30. Quoted; Twisck, P. J., *Verscheyde Artikulen des Geloofs en Sententien, uit Oude en Nieuwe Leeraers vergadert,* Hoorn, 1694, p. 408.
    See Notes 16, 18, 31 in revised form in attached MS.
31. The official text of the edict of Spires is to be found in *Aller des Heiligen Roemischen Reichs gehaltene Reichstage, Abschiede, und Satzungen,* Mainz, MDCLXVI, pp. 210, 211. Full text is to be found also in *Anabaptisticum et Enthusiasticum Pantheon und Geistliches Ruest-Hausz,* etc., 1702, pp. 6-8, likewise edited by Keller in *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft* IX, Berlin, pp. 55-57.

Pacificism Among the Mennonites, Amish Mennonites and Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania to 1783 *

Wilbur J. Bender

Provincial Pennsylvania was the "Paradise of the Sects." They flourished there in riotous profusion—Quakers, Mennonites, Amish, Schwenkfelders, Siebentagers, Tunkers, "The Society of the Woman in the Wilderness," Moravians, "Hermits on the Wissakickon,"—an almost endless variety of exotic religious societies. The unique circumstances attendant on the early history of the Province were responsible for this condition. William Penn in his "Holy Experiment" had made Pennsylvania a place of refuge for all those Christians who suffered for their religious beliefs. With the possible exception of Rhode Island and the Netherlands, there was no place in the Western world which offered the toleration Pennsylvania did; and Pennsylvania afforded unrivalled economic advantages along with civil and religious freedom, an irresistible combination to the hard-working Anabaptist farmer, sick unto death of destroying armies.[1] Peace, freedom of worship and cheap land drew him on. It is not strange, then, that the Germans descended on Pennsylvania in such hordes in the Eighteenth Century that the English rulers began to fear that the German language and customs would completely displace earlier established English institutions. The real history of the "Americanization" movement began then in the efforts of Franklin and others, through schools, newspapers and political organizations, to counteract the Teutonic influence.

Unquestionably economic factors greatly influenced this early immigration, especially of those who belonged to the state churches of Europe. But it seems quite clear that the chief motive drawing the sects to Pennsylvania was a religious one. The very fact that they were sectarians indicated that they took their religion seriously; otherwise they would have remained at ease in the bosom of Mother Rome or Calvin or Luther. For the most part they were people who carried the ideas of the Reformation to their extreme conclusion. They interpreted the Scriptures for themselves and, regardless of whether their conclusions agreed with those of others or not, they stuck to them. Inevitably that led to trouble, for religious tolerance is a very modern thing in this so-called Christian world. The people of Sixteenth Century Europe, apart from a few minor groups, simply could not conceive of a religion which was not comprehensive. If the beliefs of the majority were right, then obviously any one stubborn

* A thesis submitted in candidacy for honors at Harvard College, 1927.

and misguided enough to hold views contravening those of the majority was endangering his own salvation and so should be forcibly shown the error of his ways or else summarily removed, to corrupt others no longer. It was a logical position and most dissenters tacitly evidenced their approval of it by employing the same tactics as soon as they waxed strong enough to secure control of the civil power themselves. Hence it is clear that to those odd individuals who persisted in maintaining their proscribed views in the face of persecution, religion was a most vital matter. The religious motif was the dominant, constant one—it colored their every action, their entire outlook on life. Work, family, their relations to society, all were subordinated to this one element. Any consideration of the Pennsylvania sects must, thus, keep ever in the foreground the constant, guiding influence of religious ideas on their behavior.

One doctrine subscribed to by practically all of the early Pennsylvania sectarians was Non-Resistance. The position of the Quakers on this subject is well known; but much less has been said about the other sects. Of these the most significant in any study of pacifism in America are the Mennonites, and their kinsmen, the Amish. They have more consistently maintained this doctrine than has any other sect.[2] In the last war there were far more Mennonite "Conscientious Objectors" than of any other group.[3]

An understanding of the pacifist attitude of the Mennonites and Amish in Pennsylvania requires a knowledge of their early history. Their pacifism was inherited; and when they refused to bear arms in the American revolution, cumulative ancestral experience sustained them. A bloody past had taught them dogged fortitude, and painful contact with state and state church had increased their native self-sufficiency and tendency towards aloofness from the affairs of this world. For the Mennonites were the radical evangelical groups of the sixteenth century, dubbed Anabaptists along with other radical groups because they denied the validity of infant baptism and baptized adults only, rebaptizing their converts. They rejected the authoritative, traditional and aristocratic organization of the state churches and the pretensions of civil society.[4] A wide range of beliefs was to be found among the "Anabaptists," owing to the chaotic conditions of the times, their religious subjectivism and lack of organization and the fact that it was customary to group religious radicals generally, under this name. Most of the "Wiedertaeufer," (the Mennonites universally), however, believed that the Christian had no need of government and should neither take part in it nor take up the sword nor swear oaths.[5] There were some, like the Munsterite fanatics, whose bloody excesses brought all the peaceful Anabaptists into disrepute.[6] But it is

safe to say that by far the larger part of the Anabaptists held non-resistant principles, based entirely on the Bible, with which book most of them were very well acquainted, even if they read little else.[7] They were unorthodox, not doctrinally but from the point of view of the *social* interpretation of the New Testament. Zwingli and Luther attacked them because they saw them prepared to act in political and social matters as they, themselves, had done in ecclesiastical affairs.[8]

While the name "Mennonite" is derived from one Menno Simons, a converted priest born in 1496 at Witmarsum in West Friesland, who joined the small group of peaceful Anabaptists in that region in 1536 and soon became the outstanding leader of the whole movement in Holland and North Germany until his death in 1561,[9] the root stock of the Mennonites was Swiss. These peaceful Swiss Anabaptists called themselves simply Brethren and were not, before the end of the seventeenth century, called "Mennonites." They arose out of the Zwinglian movement in Zurich during the year 1523-25, their definite organization having been formed in January, 1525. The almost identical Dutch movement which Menno joined seems to have arisen almost independently about 1530 in Friesland. Thus although Menno did not found a new denomination, and although he had no connection with the Swiss Brethren, it will be convenient to follow the established usage and speak of the entire group of peaceful Anabaptists as Mennonites.[10]

Inevitably persecution descended upon these Mennonite-Anabaptists. Ideas such as theirs, if allowed to spread, the authorities claimed, would undermine the very foundations of the state. Their opponents, moreover, often had only vague nations of what the Mennonites did believe and attributed to them communistic tendencies, while continually confusing them with the notorious Munsterite Anabaptists, despite all the Mennonite protestations to the contrary.[11] In 1573 the Mennonites of Holland were accorded a limited toleration by William of Orange, but in Germany and in Switzerland they were given little rest.[12] In the Cantons of Zurich and Bern their attitude as radical conscientious objectors and as plain country people objecting to the progress of a money economy especially brought down on them the heavy hand of the authorities.[13] The result was a continual migration from place to place. Many of the Swiss Brethren, for instance, settled in Alsace-Lorraine, the Palatinate and the Rhine Valley generally. Earlier some of the Dutch (Doopsgezinde) found refuge in North Germany, Poland and Prussia.[14] Fortunately the Mennonites had won a wide-spread, well-deserved reputation as excellent farmers and workmen, which reputation, combined with the mercantilist policies of the seventeenth century princes, usually secured them invita-

tions to settle elsewhere when conditions became intolerable in their home communities.[15]

But outside of the Netherlands, where they had won a relatively secure and definite position and became rich and prosperous,[16] the situation of the Mennonites remained unsatisfactory. Suspect of church and state, they were not safe for long anywhere. The more extreme forms of persecution gradually gave way to such milder varieties as heavy fines, imprisonment, exile and the dreaded selling as galley slaves.[17] The wars which continually ravaged the valley of the Rhine, added to their unhappiness So it was that they listened eagerly to reports about America. Pennsylvania particularly attracted them. The description of the conditions which would prevail in the "Quakerthal" in the New World must have been sweet music to the ears of the harried Mennonites. So, in response to the work of Penn's agents and to the stimulus of irksome conditions in Europe, they began the great "trek to Amerika."[18] The pacifism of the Mennonites and their radically democratic and anti-social views in general, brought persecution, which made them willing to leave Europe. Now in Pennsylvania they were promised freedom to believe and live according to their own consciences, without let or hindrance from the state.

The first permanent Mennonite settlement in America was made in Germantown near Philadelphia, in 1683 by a small group of Quakers and Mennonites from Crefeld in northwestern Germany, who were immediately followed by a similar group from Kriegsheim in the Palatinate.[19] Not many more came for the next twenty-five years, but from 1709 to 1756 they arrived in large numbers.[20] Practically all of them settled in southeastern Pennsylvania in what are now the counties of Philadelphia, Chester, Lancaster, Bucks, Berks and Montgomery.[21] Just how many of them there were at the outbreak of the Revolution it is impossible to state accurately, but probably about seventy-five hundred, including the Amish.[22]

The Amish began coming to Pennsylvania in large numbers about 1727, settling chiefly in Berks and Lancaster Counties. They are a branch of the Mennonites who derive their name from Jacob Amman, a Mennonite preacher of Canton Berne, who advocated getting back to earlier and stricter practices.[23] Since an open break, which came in 1693, the Amish have maintained a separate organization. They adhere rigidly to the ancient ordinances and the confession of faith adopted at Dordrecht in 1632. They are really only more conservative Mennonites, being of the same racial stock and holding fundamentally the same doctrinal views. The Amish exercise a stronger church discipline and have more distinct rules concerning withdrawal from the world, their unworldliness being emphasized by more emphatic external signs. They accept literally the

commandment, "Be not conformed to the world,"[24] while Mennonites lay greater stress on spiritual nonconformity. These differences have not prevented some of the Amish groups from coming over bodily to the Mennonites, and as a result, a considerable part of the present Mennonite church is of Amish origin. Both groups held the same views on swearing of oaths, non-resistance, and civil government. The outsider did not differentiate between them; and, culturally and politically they were a unit. So, for the purposes of this paper, they may be considered as identical.[25]

Just what was the Mennonite attitude toward government.[26] They took the stand that government was necessary, conditions in the world being what they are, and that it was to be scrupulously and loyally obeyed in everything which did not transgress the laws of God as they conceived them. They believed in "rendering unto Caesar that which is Caesar's"—but they also believed that the things of God always came first and that their prime duty was to God. For the most part, of course, such a viewpoint would not make them bad citizens, since, in the ordinary course of affairs there was no conflict between the demands of Caesar and of God. They were not anarchists, not even philosophical ones. They believed in private property but they combined with that a strong sense of community responsibility. When it came to bearing arms, they were absolute non-resistants. As Article XIV[27] of their Confession of Faith sets forth and their whole subsequent history testifies, they were absolute pacifists;[28] war was never right for the Mennonites—not even a war to end wars. This doctrine was based, not on any ethical, philosophical or economic reasoning, but wholly on scriptural grounds. They believed it was wrong to use force against their fellowmen, because the Bible and Jesus Christ so taught.[29] This attitude also expressed itself in a refusal to go to law, even when they had a clear case.[30] They were a peaceable, law-abiding sect who payed their taxes and fed the poor and asked nothing of the world except to be left in quiet to till their land and worship their God in their own way. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that a leading ideal of the Mennonites from the very beginning was withdrawal from the "world." They continually preached the living of a "retired life"—keeping apart from "worldly" affairs. This thread runs through their whole ethical code and in it is to be found the explanation of much of their behavior. For, much as they may have regretted it, they lived in the "world," and "worldly" affairs at times had to be considered. Then it was a question of reconciling the conflicting interests in the most righteous way and patiently enduring the punishment.

Besides the Mennonites and Amish there were several other groups in Pennsylvania with similar ideals, mostly of German blood. The

Moravian Brethren were generally pacifist.[31] The Tunkers (Dunkards) believed almost exactly as the Mennonites did on war and the state and, being small in numbers before the Revolution, identified themselves with the Mennonites in most of their public actions.[32] Since many individuals and small groups of believers followed the leadership of these sects without actually being members, their influence extended throughout the whole German population of the Province.[33] These sturdy Swiss Anabaptists were the first large group of German-speaking immigrants in Pennsylvania and their compact, prosperous settlement became a sort of cultural nucleus around which later German immigrants could rally.[34]

The Schwenkfelders were a German sect who very much resembled Mennonites and Quakers. They were followers of Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig (1490-1562), a Silesian nobleman who preached the "Reformation by the Middle Way." He never tried to organize his adherents into a church. His followers, found mainly in Suabia and Silesia, Switzerland, Bohemia, Moravia and Holland, numbered about four thousand at the time of his death.[35] Terrible persecutions reduced them, by 1700, to about fifteen hundred, chiefly located in a few Silesian villages as quiet, industrious and law-abiding citizens—farmers, gardeners, weavers and professional people. But they had no existence as a church and seemed on the point of total decay when, in 1719, two Jesuit missionaries were sent to convert them. Efforts of Catholics and Lutherans both proving fruitless, the resulting persecution forced them to flee to Count Zinzendorf in Saxony in 1726. When the pressure of the Jesuits made it necessary to leave that refuge, their connection with Zinzendorf, who was a Moravian and interested in a colony in Georgia at the time, as well as their contacts with the Mennonites, with whom they corresponded, turned their attention to America. So in September, 1734, they arrived in Philadelphia, having emigrated practically en masse. But there were only about two hundred and fifty of them left, the small number being the result of severe persecution on a loosely organized body. They were unable to establish a distinct Schwenkfelder community and bought land wherever possible, most of them settling in the valley of the Perkiomen in Berks, Bucks and Montgomery counties in southeastern Pennsylvania, where their descendants still live. There was a continual tendency towards dispersion because of their lack of formal organization, the hard struggle for economic security, the inroads of other sects, especially the Moravians, and their scattered locations. As the Schwenkfelders were never a proselytizing or rapidly evangelical group, their numbers have remained small and they have never spread outside southeastern Pennsylvania. Though they were opposed to war and oaths, they did not regard it as wrong to hold office,

if one did not strive for it.[36] It was a matter of religious faith with them to be obedient to those in authority in all matters in which conscience did not dictate otherwise.[37]

To most of the non-German inhabitants of Pennsylvania, these pacifistic sects were simply so many "Dutchmen",[38] a little more outlandish than the rest, perhaps, but simply a part of the vaste horde of Germans who nearly inundated the "Quakerthal" in the Eighteenth Century. Then, as now, there was considerable opposition on the part of the English-speaking inhabitants to the "foreigners" who were so clannish and who, unreasonably, seemed to own the best farms and to raise the largest crops.[39] Especially was there continual friction with the rough Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, who came in about the same time and occupied the townships of Donegal and Paxton, now Dauphin County. The annoying placidity and exclusiveness of the Germans irritated them extremely. Collisions occurring frequently concerning elections, bearing of arms, and the treatment of Indians, "the proprietaries instructed their agents that the Germans should be encouraged, and, in a manner directed to settle along the southern boundary of the province in Lancaster and York counties, while the Irish (sic) were to locate . . . . in the region now forming Dauphin and Cumberland counties."[40] Thus the Germans got the best limestone lands while the more war-like Scotch-Irish were put on the western frontier where they could bear the brunt of possible Indian attacks. So the pacifism of the Mennonites both directly and unconsciously influenced their geographical distribution in Pennsylvania. It was natural for the defenseless Anabaptists to settle in the more protected areas, just as it was to be expected that the turbulent Scotch-Irish, long-experienced in border warfare, would gravitate towards the frontier, the region of cheaper land and less social restriction.

The antagonism between the German-speaking sects and their Scotch-Irish neighbors went deeper than mere racial antipathy. It was part of the struggle for control of the Pennsylvania Assembly which runs through the whole history of the province—the struggle between east and west, between radical and conservative, propertied and propertyless, frontier and older community, the same conflict between frontier and East that has characterized the whole history of these United States until the frontier disappeared. The Pennsylvania Assembly was under Quaker dominance from the beginning and was kept there by denial of equitable representation to the newer settlements, restricted suffrage, log-rolling—all the devices useful to a minority.[41] But besides the usual economic and social factors which entered into the sectional conflict in the other colonies, the situation in Pennsylvania was complicated by the religious element. One of the

main tenets of the Quakers was non-resistance; they did not believe in warfare of any sort. And, until the non-pacifist element in the Province grew quite strong, the Quaker government seems to have succeeded very well in maintaining peaceful relations with the Indians without the use of force.[42] It is a pity that the non-resistants and the Indians could not have been isolated in Pennsylvania without the injection of other elements into the situation; it would have been a most interesting laboratory test of pacifism. But with the coming of the Scotch-Irish, though not necessarily because of it, and their settling on the frontier, the complexion of affairs changed. The struggle between France and England for control of a continent had its repercussing in the backwoods of Pennsylvania. The Indians began to make trouble and a constant clamor arose on the frontier for protection. As the Quakers could not consistently order others to do what they considered a sin for themselves, the demands of the frontier for the sending of troops were regularly turned down.[43]

The irate frontiersmen, Scotch and German alike, did not give up easily and they pressed their demands by every means in their power. Nor was it to be expected that they would restrain their efforts within strictly lawful channels. In the grim struggle for existence the pioneer has seldom faltered at riot and murder. He was essentially a law unto himself. The horribly barbarous murders of peaceful Christian Indians at Lancaster by the Paxtang[44] boys were simply a part of the general struggle between East and West in Pennsylvania. And their occurrence in the very heart of the Mennonite community undoubtedly inspired the peaceful German settlers with a further detestation and fear of all the works of the "Wild Irish". The horror generated by such deeds as this helped to shock the Mennonites out of their customary attitude of non-participation in government. It is not strange then that the various non-resident sects voted almost en masse and steadily for the Quaker candidates. Indeed, the Quakers could not have been continued in power had it not been for the general support of the conservative eastern Germans.[45]

Efforts were made to "educate" the Germans and wean them away from the Quaker party, schools, newspapers, pamphlets, etc., being the weapons. For example, Benjamin Franklin, in 1747, wrote a pamphlet entitled, *The Plain Truth,* designed to bring about a change in the policy of the Quaker Government of not taking active part in assisting the British in the wars against the French and Indians. Non-resistants replied in pamphlets also, especially those of Christopher Saur, the Tunker, whose printing press was of great influence in the colony[46] The early historian, Gordon, says, "The Quakers, Moravians, Mennonites and Schwenkfelders earnestly required the people to submit themselves entirely to the dispen-

sation of the Deity, in whose hands they were, while the Episcopals, Baptists and Presbyterians as zealously advocated the necessity of employing those means of defense with which the Deity had already provided them. Both parties resorted to the press, which teemed with pamphlets, German and American, on the subject."[47]

That more violent means than pamphlets were occasionally resorted to is shown by a letter which Samuel Purviance, a local politician, wrote to Col. James Burd in 1765, urging that the way to do was, "to let it be spread abroad through the country that your party intends to come well armed to the election . . . . . that you will thrash the sheriff, every inspector, Quaker and Mennonist to a jelly." But, as a disappointed manager wrote the same year, "All in vain was our labor . . . . . our party at the last election have loosed all."[48]

Undoubtedly the most potent reason for Mennonite and Schwenkfelder political support of the Quaker candidates was their common belief in pacifism, although both groups had much in common beside this. War was the chief event hinging on the control of the Assembly. As long as this body was in the hands of the Quakers, the peaceful sects could be sure that war would be averted, if at all possible, and that their pacifistic scruples would be respected if a war did come. But, as soon as the anti-Quaker element secured control of the reins of government, it was certain that war would become, if not chronic, at least frequent, for the necessity of fighting in defense of the frontiers and, in co-operation with England and the other colonies, against France, was the chief issue of the campaign. It was a case of choosing the lesser of two evils. The issue was clear cut; the pacifist sects must either abandon their traditional aloofness from politics or they must expect to suffer again from a hostile government in the maintaining of their non-resistant principles. Economic considerations supported their reasoning. A militia system, with a campaign against the Indians, meant burdensome taxes—taxes which would fall much more heavily on the comparatively wealthy eastern farmers than on the poverty-stricken, loosely governed frontiersmen. The Quaker party also represented the forces of opposition to the proprietors of the colony, who were interested in securing as large a return as possible from their holdings; that, again, meant an increased financial burden on the farmers. Therefore the peaceful sects supported the Quaker candidates through thick and thin, since they represented opposition to the frontier, opposition to the proprietors, opposition to war and sympathy with most of the ideals of the sects.[49]

It is difficult to tell just how many of the Mennonites actually voted and how much they contributed to keeping the Quakers in power.[50] They

strength was concentrated in a district which had a much large represen- carried more weight in politics than their numbers warranted, because their tation in the Assembly, proportionately, than other regions.[51] Practically all of them, too, were able to meet the property qualification, £50, for voting. Their influence, made vocal mainly through the printing press of Christopher Saur, was potent among the non-pacifist Germans also.[52] And probably a large proportion of the Mennonites voted in person. Local tradition has it, for instance, that every Mennonite in Lancaster County went to the polls and tried to hold the Assembly for the Friends when the crisis came. It is altogether likely that the votes and influence of the pacifist sects were the chief factor in keeping the Quaker Assembly in power, long after it had lost the support of the people at large.[53] But the forces fighting against the Quaker-German combination were too strong, and their eventual victory in 1756,[54] combined with the distaste engendered by the "slippery path of compromise" from 1739 to 1756, convinced most of the Mennonites, as well as many of the Quakers, that any active interest in politics was wrong.[55] They returned to their traditional aloofness from mundane affairs, and did not again vote in any large numbers until the anti-slavery compaign of the pre-Civil War days.

During these troublous times the Mennonites began to fear, and with reason, that their non-resistant principles would be put to the test. To prepare for such an eventuality they decided to inculcate the doctrine more firmly in the younger generation which had grown up untested in the faith; knowledge of the histories of their heroic forbears who had died for conscience' sake was necessary. To this end Christopher Saur issued in 1742 the first American edition of the old Mennonite Hymnbook, the Ausbund, which contained inspiring tales of the Anabaptist martyrs in hymn form. Reprints followed in 1751 and 1767.[56] This first American edition included an appendix of 46 pages telling of the persecution of the Mennonites in Switzerland from 1635-1645. The appendix is not to be found in the European editions and was no doubt printed at this time to stimulate loyalty in time of trial.

The chief mine of information about their martyred ancestors was the huge Dutch book, *Het Bloedig Tooneel, of Martelaers Spiegel* of Tieleman Van Braght.[57] There was hardly a Mennonite family which had not an ancestor in the bloody pages of the "Martyr's Mirror". Wide reading of this book would be a most effective means of strengthening their non-resistant principles. But it was too difficult and expensive a work to be done alone, so they sent to the wealthy Dutch Mennonites for aid.

"As the flames of war mount higher and higher," they wrote in

1744,[58] "no man can tell whether the Cross and persecution of the defenseless Christians will not soon come, and it is, therefore, of supreme importance to prepare ourselves for such circumstances with patience and resignation, and to use all available means that can encourage steadfastness and strengthen faith. Our whole community has manifested an unanimous desire for a German translation of the Bloody Theatre of T. J. Van Braght, especially since in this community there is a very great number of newcomers for whom we consider it to be of the greatest importance that they should become acquainted with the trustworthy witnesses who have walked in the way of truth and sacrificed their lives for it."

But the Dutch were traditionally slow in answering and finally the Pennsylvania Mennonites went ahead with the work on their own responsibility. In 1748 it was issued by the Brethren of the Cloister at Ephrata, Pennsylvania, under the supervision of two Mennonites,[59] it being the largest book printed in the Colonies previous to the Revolution.[60] Curiously enough, during the Revolution the government seized the unbound leaves of those Martyr Books which had remained unsold and carried them off in two wagons to furnish paper needed for cartridges.[61] Thus did pacifist literature help defeat the British.

At the same time the Mennonites appealed to the magistracy for war. The authorities looked favorably on their request for complete freedom from military service but explained that they were without the power assurance that their non-resistant principles would be respected in case of to grant the privilege, which power they thought resided in the King of England alone. So the Mennonites wrote to their brethren in Haarlem and Amsterdam in 1742 and asked them to bring their powerful influence to bear upon the English court in their behalf, as they had done previously, through the intervention of the Estates General, when alleviation was obtained in the case of the Swiss and Litthauer Anabaptists.[62] There is no evidence of any action being taken by the Dutch in the matter.

The Mennonites seem to have suffered little from the savages before the French and Indian War, partly because they lived in the districts more remote from the frontier and partly because they treated the Indians considerately and honestly. There is no evidence that they ever used force against the Indians.[63] Nor has it ever been ascertained either by tradition or authentic record, that the more exposed individuals ever made use of the forts erected for protection against the Indians.[64] In the bloody war years, 1754 to 1763, the peaceful sects suffered along with the rest. The Indian, bent on extermination of the enemy, did not stop to enquire whether the settler believed in Biblical non-resistance, or not. A letter written to Switzerland in 1755 states that thirteen persons, mostly Mennonites, had

been killed at Shamagem (Shamokin?) on the frontier.[65] And in 1758 the Virginia Mennonites appealed for aid to their Dutch co-religionists, saying that through recent incursions of the savages one family (out of thirty-nine) had been murdered and that the rest had been forced to flee back to Pennsylvania.[66] Christopher Saur's Journal reports the killing in 1757 of three Amish near Bern Tip, in Berks County. The tradition is that the Mennonite and Amish churches in Berks County suffered terribly in this period, several Congregations, such as the North Kill Congregation, passing out of existence. The Mennonites suffered from the war, then, but no more nor less than their neighbors.

The Schwenkfelders were not directly affected by the Indians in the war. Christopher Schultz, one of their leaders, writes,[67] "Our people willingly helped to bear their share of the burdens that fell to the various townships, without personally taking up arms against the enemy, a substitute being placed by them as their term of service came." They sent flour and other provisions to Bethlehem to relieve the distress there.[68] The Quakers organized the "Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures." Schwenkfelders then formed a union among themselves and collected a total of two hundred and fifteen pounds, which was expended, through the Friends, for the release of prisoners and other pacificatory purposes.[69]

Fortunately for the pacifists, they were not forced to serve in the militia during the war.[70] From the beginning of the struggle in 1754, Pennsylvania was much disliked by the other colonies on account of the policy of non-resistance and non-co-operation pursued by the Quaker government.[71] The policy was extremely unpopular at home, also, and after the defeat of Braddock and the Indian massacres in 1755, the Scotch-Irish and the non-pacifist Germans joined forces to compel the Assembly to take more positive measures. Early in 1756 they sent a petition to the Privy Council in London, and the latter authorized a committee to investigate.[72] This committee condemned the too peaceful policy of the Assembly, declaring that it was its duty to protect its subjects, that the measures enacted for that purpose were inadequate, and that there was no hope for more effective ones, "so long as the majority of that body consisted of persons whose avowed principles were opposed to military service, although they were less than one-sixth of the population."[73] Then a number of Quakers resigned, rather than vote against their consciences, and control passed permanently into the hands of those who were willing to use arms.

There was little attempt, however, to force those with conscientious scruples into serving in the militia. The traditions of the Province were all against it; to jump from practically no armed force to universal com-

pulsory service was too complete a break. The fundamental laws and charters of Pennsylvania, moreover, exempted them.[74] And most of the petitions for militia from the moderate part of the people requested due regard for tender consciences.[75] Besides, as the practical Franklin pointed out,[76] "The Quakers and Mennonites pay a great part of the taxes for the King's service because they are generally wealthy." The Assembly did pass a militia bill by which all men were subjected to military duty, which duty could be commuted by a fine, recoverable in the ordinary course of justice, but the Governor refused to sign it because he was given no authority to appoint officers.[77] Hence there was no compulsory military service in Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution.

Up to 1776, then, the Amish, Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders had succeeded in observing strictly their non-resistant principles, on the whole without serious difficulties. A sympathetic non-resistant sect held the reins of government till 1756, due, partly at least, to their support at the polls. Throughout the whole period the pacifist inhabitants of Pennsylvania exerted a powerful influence on the course of affairs and the distinctive culture of the province—not so much by force of numbers, for they had become a minority, as by their wealth, intelligence, and strategic position. They gave tone to Pennsylvania civilization. In the printing establishments of Christopher Saur, the Tunker, and the Cloister at Ephrata, the peace party possessed influential agents.[78] Sauer's paper, the *Germantauner Zeitung*, had a large circulation among the Germans who composed about one-third of the total population of the colony in 1776.[79] But, with the rapidly increasing population, made up in large part of individuals seeking chiefly economic improvement, and unfamiliar with and contemptuous of the "outlandish" doctrines of the sects, their position became more precarious. In the trying times from 1763 to the end of the Revolution their principles were put to a severe test.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. As C. J. Stille points out, however, the picture presented by most writers on the early history of Pennsylvania, Proud, Gordon, Dr. Franklin and others, is too highly idealized. Pennsylvania deserves credit for maintaining the degree of toleration she did; but at the same time there were limits—and quite narrow ones from the modern point of view. Only Protestants who were orthodox according to the standards then prevailing could hold office; only Protestants had the legal right to hold church property, or any property devoted to charitable purposes; and no foreign born Catholic could be naturalized. In fact, until 1742, no alien could be naturalized and secure the right to transmit property to his children, etc., without special legislation. Although the Government of Pennsylvania was distinguished above all other colonies for its mildness and clemency, yet the Quaker inhabitants shared the quite common opinion that orthodox belief was an essential qualification for civil office. Even if other ideas had prevailed, and it seems quite certain

that Penn himself had a broader conception of tolerance, it would have been impossible in the province. Stille, Charles Janeway, *Religious Tests in Provincial Pennsylvania,* Philadelphia, 1885, passim.

2. Thomas, Norman, *The Conscientious Objector in America,* New York, 1923, p. 48.
3. Kellogg, Major Walter Guest, *The Conscientious Objector.* New York, 1919, pp. 36, 128, 129.
4. Smith, Preserved, *The Age of the Reformation,* New York, 1920, p. 99.
5. Newman, Albert Henry, *History of Anti-Pedobaptism,* Philadelphia, 1897, p. 163. One of their earliest confessions of faith, the seven articles drawn up at Schlatten am Randen near Schaffhausen, in 1527, states such views. McGlothlin, W. J., *Baptist Confessions of Faith,* Philadelphia, 1911.
6. Newman, *op. cit.,* p. 256.
7. Newmann, Albert Henry, *Balthazar Hubmaier and the Moravian Anabaptists,* in the Goshen College Record Review Supplement, Goshen, Ind., 1926, p. 12.
8. Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 155.
9. Horsch, John, *Menno Simons, His Life, Labors, and Teachings,* Scottdale, Pa., 1916, pp. 29ff.
10. For the history of the various names given to Anabaptist groups see Correll, Ernst H., *Das Schweizerische Taeufer-Mennonitentum,* Tuebingen, 1925, p. 3. Almost all the pre-Revolutionary settlers in this country were Swiss Anabaptists and the question of Menno's influence on them is obscure. Cf. Neff, Christian, article, "Bern", in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Frankfort am Main und Weierhof (Pfalz), 1913, Vol. I, pp. 195 f. It is rather doubtful whether they knew of him generally. The first known publication of a book of Menno's in America was in 1794, more than a hundred years after the first Mennonites arrived. Bender, Harold S., *Mennonitica Americana,* 1727-1827, The Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. I, No. 1, Goshen, Ind., 1927, p. 46.
11. Smith, *Mennonites,* p. 60.
12. *Ibid.,* p. 65.
13. Correll, Ernst H., *op. cit.,* pp. 24 ff.
14. *Ibid.,* pp. 54 ff and 75 ff.
15. *Ibid.,* Chaps. III and IV. Cf. Smith, *Mennonites,* pp. 74-80, and Hirst, Margaret E., *The Quakers in Peace and War, An Account of Their Peace Principles and Practice,* London, 1923, pp. 31-33. Note the following as testimony of the official appreciation of the industrious virtues of the Mennonites. In France they had early settled in the Vosges and been exempted from military service by Louis XIV and protected from the consequences of the revolution of the Edict of Nantes. In 1793 the Committee of Public Safety, in granting them exemption from combatant duties, declared, "We have observed in this people a simple heart and sweetness of character and we think that a good government ought to enlist all such virtues for the public good." Signed among others by Robespierre. Quoted in Hirst, *op. cit.,* p. 31 "The King of Prussia does not wish to part with them as they are indeed among the very best of his subjects, but, as they cannot bear arms, the popular odium is so strong against them that they are glad to get away." Journal of Wm. Allen, an English Friend, 1819, quoted *ibid.,* p. 32. In 1694, King William of England addressed a letter to the Count Palatine in behalf of the persecuted "Menists", in which he speaks in high terms of his Mennonite subjects as peaceable and industrious folk, *ibid.,* p. 455. The ancient Dutch historian, Van Benning writes to Turenne, "The Mennonites are a good people and the most commodious to a state of any in the world, partly because they do not aspire to places of dignity, partly because they edify the community by the simplicity of their manners, and application to arts and industry; and partly because we fear no rebellion from a sect that makes it an article of their faith never to bear arms!" Quoted, Edwards, Morgan, *Materials Toward a History*

of the Baptists, Philadelphia, 1770, p. 49. When, in the 1870's the Russian government passed a Universal Military Service Law and the Mennonites started to leave, General Todleben, hero of Sebastopol, told the Czar he was driving away his best agriculturists, and obtained a compromise. Hirst, *op. cit.,* p. 32. Many similar passages might be quoted.

17. Van Braght, Tieleman Jans, *The Martyr's Mirror,* etc., trans. from the Dutch by J. F. Sohm, Elkhart, Ind., 1887, passim.

16. The communistic "Hutterite Mennonites" in Moravia also had won liberty and prosperity but with the beginning of the Thirty Year's War they were driven out and their efficient organization was in the main destroyed. After two centuries of wandering in various European countries the Hutterites migrated to America in 1874 where they recovered religiously and economically. Cf. Correll, *op. cit.,* p. 17 f, Bertha W. Clark, The *Hutterian Communities,* The Journal of Political Economy, XXXVII, Chicago, 1924, p. 473 ff.

18. For relations of Mennonites and Quakers see Barclay, Robert, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth,* London, 1877, Chaps. V, X, and XXVII.
Cf. Sachse, Julius Friedrich, *The Fatherland, Showing the Part it Bore in the Discovery, Exploration and Development of the Western Continent, with Especial Reference to Pennsylvania,* Phil. 1897, pp. 115, 142, et passim.

19. Smith, *Mennonites,* p. 94. For a survey of the European background of the Germantown settlement see Correll, Ernst H., Article, *Germantown,* in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* II, Installment No. 17, pp. 76-81. Frankfort A. M. & Weierhof, 1926. These two groups seem to have been quite closely connected with the Quakers in Europe; the rest were not. They came to Pennsylvania, instead of other colonies, because their friends were there, because land companies steered them there, and because of the liberal provisions of the Pennsylvania Constitution.

20. Smith, *Mennonites,* p. 134.

21. *Ibid.,* p. 146 ff.

22. Redmond Conyngham, in his history of the Mennonites and Aymenists or Amish, published in *Hazard's Register,* Vol. VII, Philadelphia, 1831, estimates the number of Mennonites in Pennsylvania in 1775 as 5,000 and the Amish as 3,000. But this is just a guess, and all the statistics about the Mennonites are unreliable because they vary on account of different estimates regarding baptized and not yet baptized members. About the statistical problem cf. Correll, *Taeufer-Mennonitentum,* p. 23 f. The first official figures are those of the 1890 Census which sets the figure at 15,330 (including Amish). *Census of* 1890, Vol. 16, *Report of Statistics of Churches in U. S. at the 11th Census,* Henry K. Carroll, Washington, D. C., 1893, p. 487. It is possible to work back from this and secure a loose approximation of the number in 1775, which would not differ much from Conyngham's estimate. The increase in the period 1775-1890 in Pa. was not very great, due to the non-proselyting policy of the Mennonites and the large emigration to other states. Cf. Heatwole, L. J., *Mennonite Handbook of Information,* Scottdale, Pa., 1925, pp. 60-62. There has never been any great influx of outsiders into the Mennonite Church—almost all the family names now common were so 200 years ago. Cf. Smith, *Mennonites,* pp. 388-9. Nor have they been successful in holding their natural increase, as there has been a constant tendency for the young people to "go out into the world", because of a lack of "progressiveness" in the church and peculiarities of custom and doctrine among the "plain people" which have caused them to be considered queer by their neighbors. Immigration, also, practically ceased from 1756-1815 and later immigrants settled further west, for the most part, where they could get cheaper land. It seems probable, then, that the estimate of Conyngham is not far wrong and that the figure, 7,500, approximates the truth.

23. Art. on Ammann, Jakob, by Neff, *Christian,* in *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Vol. I, p. 57. Cf. Wick, Barthinius, L., *The Amish Mennonites,* Iowa City, Iowa,

1894, pp. 11, 12. Cf. also *Some Old Letters* by C. H. Smith in *Christian Exponent,* 1924, pp. 118, 146, 178, 226, where some of the original letters on the Amish division of 1693H are translated.

24. Romans, 12:2.

25. Very little has been written about the Amish. Wick, *The Amish Mennonites,* is not reliable. The best accounts in English are those found in Smith, C. Henry, *The Mennonites of America,* Goshen, Ind., 1909, and Smith, C. Henry, *The Mennonites,* Berne, Indiana, 1920. *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Vol. I, has short articles on Ammann and the Amish Mennonites, pp. 56 and 57.
Cf. Smith, C. H., "Some Old Letters." *Christian Exponent,* I, pp. 118,146,178. 226 for translation of Amish letters of the time of the division, 1693.

26. For the official expression of Mennonites and Amish on this subject, see the extracts from the Dordrecht Confession in the Appendix.

27. See Appendix.

28. Practically all of the Pennsylvania Amish and Mennonites were Swiss Anabaptists. Correll cites several cases which evidence their practical application of non-resistance while yet in Europe. Correll, *op. cit.* During the Vilmerger War in 1656 they did sanitary work instead of fighting, p. 69. At the same time the Zurich and Bern diplomats announced that they could no longer tolerate the Anabaptists because of their pacifistic attitude, which was, in fact the main issue, p. 69. About 1634 there were collisions between Zurich Anabaptists and their neighbors over military affairs, p. 67. At different times they refused to bear arms although that was considered a republican honor for the freeman, p. 41. Cf. similar incidents, pp. 82 and 102.

29. Smith, *Mennonites,* pp. 352 ff, pp. 41-44; Hartzler, Jonas S. & Kauffman, Daniel H., *Mennonite Church History,* Scottdale, Pa., 1905, pp. 387 ff and pp. 83 ff. See Confession of Faith in Appendix.

30. It must be remembered that, in religion at least, Mennonites are partial individualists with a congregational form of church government so that there is a tendency for variations to occur. But what is said above was almost universally true among them prior to the Civil War.

31. Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements,* p. 208.

32. Brumbaugh, Martin G., *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America,* Mount Morris, Ill., 1899, p. Cf. Smith, *Mennonites,* pp. 178 ff.

33. For these sects see the works of Sachse, Julius Friedrich, The *German Pietists of Pennsylvania,* 1694-1708, Philadelphia, 1895, and *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania,* 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1899.

34. Previous to the Revolution it is estimated that there were over 100,000 Germans in the Province. Kuhns, Oscar, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania, A Study of the So-called Pennsylvania Dutch,* New York, 1901, p. 1.

35. These facts about the Schwenkfelders are taken from Kriebel, Howard Wiegner, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, an Historical Sketch,* Lancaster, Pa., 1909, passim. It should be noted that the Schwenkfelder group grew from opposition to Luther, the Pennsylvania Mennonites from opposition to Zwingli.

36. See Appendix for official statement of their beliefs concerning war and government.

37. C. D. Hartranft, late President of Hartford Theological Seminary has this to say about Schwenkfeld, "More emphasis was put on the direct reign of the spirit than on the formal principles of the Scriptures, though by no means to any neglect of the latter. . . . . In Schwenkfeld we find many characteristics of modern Protestantism; the function of the laity, the right of representation, the freedom of conscience, the separation of Church and State, the *ecclesiola in ecclesia,* and many another principle that is now potent in all branches of Christendom, had their strongest champion in him in the days when these were heretical principles and when their assertion was at the peril of life. There is scarcely a religious school, whether pietistic or liberal, that has not drawn some formative influence from him thru a hitherto unob-

served absorption." Quoted, Kriebel, *op. cit.,* p. 16. Gov. Pennypacker of Pennsylvania said, "The Schwenkfelders, who emigrated in a body to Pennsylvania, were the most intelligent group of people who came to America in the colonial period." Quoted, Brecht, S. K. ed. *Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families,* New York, 1923. An unique and eloquent testimony of the character of this group is the edict issued in 1742 by Frederick the Great, ordering that the "so-called Schwenkfelders, who were exiled through an impudent zeal for religion, to the irreparable damage of commerce and of the country, be recalled into our sovereign Duchy of Lower Silesia." Quoted, Kriebel, *op. cit.,* p. 54.

38. This was especially erroneous with regard to the Mennonites and Amish who were, in the pre-Revolutionary days, almost 100% pure Swiss and not all all "Deutsch." Though some had resided for a short while in the Palatinate before coming to America, they were not accepted as German citizens. See any book on Mennonite history in substantiation of this statement.

39. "One characteristic of the Mennonites has exhibited itself wherever their lots have been cast, their instinct for fine lands. They are the most patient farmers on the face of the earth and, as a community, the best." Ellis, Franklin and Evans, Samuel, *History of Lancaster County,* Philadelphia, 1883, p. 335. Cf. Correll, *op. cit.,* Chap. VI. Correll demonstrates their decisive contribution to the development of rationalized farming in Middle Europe

40. Day—*Historical Collection,* quoted in Gibbons, Phoebe Earl, *Pennsylvania Dutch and Other Essays,* Philadelphia, 1882, p. 110.

41. Bolles, Albert Sidney, *Pennsylvania, Province and State,* 1609-1790, Philadelphia, 1890, Vol. 1, p. 337.

42. *Ibid.,* pp. 292 ff.

43. Sharpless, Isaac, *A History of Quaker Government in Pennsylvania,* Phil., 1899, Vol. I, pp.

44. See on Paxtang Affair, Bolles, *op. cit.,* pp. 367-371.

45. Beidleman, William, *The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans,* Easton, Pa., 1898, pp. 78, 82; Bolles, *op. cit.,* pp. 229, 399.

46. Flory, John S., *Literary Activity of the German Baptist Brethren in the Eighteenth Century,* Elgin, Ill., 1908, pp. 127 ff. His Germantauner Zeitung had a circulation of over 4,000 by 1750, *ibid.,* p. 128. Cf. Seidensticker, Oswald, *The First Century of German Printing in America,* 1728-1830, Philadelphia, 1893, pp. 92 ff. Cf. Beidleman, *op. cit.,* p. 82.

47. Quoted, Ellis and Evans, *Lancaster County,* p. 332.

48. Quoted in Pennypacker, Samuel Whitaker, *Pennsylvania in American History,* Philadelphia, 1910, p. 203.

49. Sharpless, *Quaker Government in Pa.,* Vol. 1, passim. Cf. Scharf, J. T. and Westcott, Thompson, *History of Philadelphia,* 1884, Vol. I, p. 269; Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War,* p. 369.

50. Cf. Smith, *Mennonites,* pp. 364-367.

51. Beidleman, *op. cit.,* p. 82.

52. Seidensticker, *German Printing,* pp. 92 ff., Sharpless, Isaac, *Quakerism and Politics,* Philadelphia, 1905, p. 131.

53. Cf. Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania in American History,* p. 202.

54. Cf. Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War,* p. 50.

55. Hirst, *op. cit.,* p. 374.

56. The Ausbund was first issued in 1570, and at least 10 other times in Europe. Art. *Mennonitica Americana 1727-1827,* Bender, Harold S., in *The Mennonite Quarterly Review,* Goshen, Indiana, 1927, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 38, 39, 41 and 42.

57. *Ibid.,* p. 40.

58. Quoted in Pennypacker, Samuel Whitaker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches,* Philadelphia, 1883, pp. 194 f.

59. Quoted in Pennypacker, Samuel Whitaker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, Philadelphia, 1883, pp. 157-173. Cf. Bender, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 f. Cf. Kuhns, *German and Swiss Settlements*, pp. 132 f.
60. Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
61. Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
62. Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Cf. also De Hoop Scheffer, J. G., *Inventaris der Archivstukken . . . . . te Amsterdam I*, Amsterdam, 1883, No. 2287, p. 459 f.
63. Cf. Smith, *Mennonites*, pp. 164 ff. A certain strapping Amishman, named Hans Yoder, living in the Oley Valley in Berks County is reputed to have so far forgotten his pacifism that, by lusty swinging of a single-tree, he routed a band of Indians who had surrounded his cabin and fired through the door at the children.
64. Mast, Christian Z., The Mast Family, in *The Christian Monitor*, Scottdale, Pa., 1922, Vol. 14, No. 16, p. 688.
65. Smith, *Mennonites*, p. 165.
66. Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, p. 197, does not state the facts correctly. The letter in English was published in the *Mennonite Yearbook and Almanac*, Philadelphia, 1911, p. 18.
67. Kriebel, *Schwenkfelders*, p. 141.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
70. In 1755 the first Militia Law in Pennsylvania was passed, with due exemption for those "conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms." Hirst, *Quakers in Peace and War*, p. 376.
71. Jones, Franklin R., Colonization of the Middle States and Maryland, Philadelphia, 1904, p. 467.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 468.
73. Jones, Franklin R., *Colonization of the Middle States and Maryland*, Philadelphia, 1904, p. 468.
74. *Colonial Records*, Vol. VIII, p. 84.
75. Franklin, Benjamin, *Works, Smyth ed.*, Vol. III, p. 313. Cf. Thorpe, Francis Newton, *Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters*, etc., Washington, D. C., 1909, Vol. V, pp. 3063 ff.
76. Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
77. Bolles, *Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, p. 341.
78. Dubbs, John H., *Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. 17, Philadelphia, 1893, p. 243.
79. Flory, *Literary Activities of the Brethren*, pp. 218 f. There were 4,000 subscribers to the Zeitung in 1749, p. 127.

A Letter of Conrad Grebel to Andreas Castelberger, May, 1525 [1]

Edited by Ernst Correll and H. S. Bender
Latin Transcription and English Translation by Edward Yoder

Introduction

1. Although the letter is anonymous, there can be no doubt that Conrad Grebel was the author. And although the recipient of the letter is not named there are strong reasons to believe that Andreas Castelberger was the addressee. In the first place, the person addressed is a "brother", hence a member of the Grebel group, a close friend, one familiar with Zurich and its environs, and one sufficiently acquainted with scholars and the scholarly literature to be able to undertake the sale of Greek and Latin classics. The chief aim of the letter seems to be the disposal of the classic library in Grebel's possession. The preparation of the catalog, the request that the friend endeavor to sell the same, the request for advice as to method of sale and possible purchasers, the supposition that some of the books are already in the friend's library or collection of books for sale, the inference that he is acquainted with the issues of the press in Zurich (Zwingli's pamphlet), all point to someone closely connected with the book-trade, perhaps a bookseller. Such a person was "Andres uf der Stuelzen" or "Andreas Castelberger aus dem Bunt", called "bibliopola" or bookseller, a resident of Zurich at least as early as 1522, when his name appears in the Zurich Archives, and early an active leader in the radical group of which Grebel became the leader. Further evidence to support the view that Castelberger was the addressee is to be found in the reference to his sickness. It is known that although Castelberger was to be banished from Zurich in eight days according to the decree of January 21, 1525, he was allowed to remain a month longer because of illness according to a decree of January 28, and that on February 21, he addressed a petition to the Zurich council to be permitted to continue to live in Zurich with his family. In this letter he speaks of a severe illness so that it is possible that the illness, which he had suffered with all the winter might have continued for some time longer. In this letter he also refers to his business of selling books. The letter is printed in *Anzeiger fuer Schweizerische Geschichte*, 1900, *No.* 3, pp. 329-331.

The date of the letter is probably sometime in May. The date is fixed within the limits of late March to early June, in the former case by the reference to the death of Anemund de Coct which took place about March 20, 1525 in Schaffhausen, (cf. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs, etc.*, p. 343), and in the latter case by the reference to the "Greek School" which was to be established and which was established with opening lectures, June 19, 1525, with the installation of Jacob Ceporin as Greek and Hebrew teacher. Closer definition of the date is possible on the basis of the reference to a forthcoming pamphlet of Zwingli's against Grebel, which is no doubt the *Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von der Kindertaufe*, which appeared May 27, 1525. Very probably the date was late May.

The letter of Grebel's which is herewith reproduced has escaped the notice of practically everyone working in the field. There is one remarkable reference to it however in *Joh. v. Mueller und Rob. Glutz Blotzheims Geschichten Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft, fortgesetzt von J. J. Hottinger. VII*, Zurich, 1829, p. 44. Hottinger says: "Wie Grebel gestorben ist unbekannt. Ein letzter unvollendeter Brief desselben spricht von Versuchen zur Flucht, vom zerrueteten Zustand seines Vermoegens und seiner Gesundheit. Der bittere Ton selbst gegen seine, sonst frueher geliebte, Gattin, laesst auf die Qualen eines Gemuetes schliessen, aus welchem mit der Reinheit des Bewusstseins und Willens schon lange aller innerer Friede gewichen war."

The reader may judge whether the text of the letter justifies this strange comment by Hottinger.

The original of the letter is to be found in the *Staatsarchiv Zurich E. II, Buecher des Antistitialarchivs,* 349, p. 312. It has not been reproduced heretofore. The present reproduction is made from a photostatic copy of the original in the possession of the Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College.

I.

(Exact transcription of E II 349, p 312 et tergo, from Zurich Archives, except for capitalization and punctuation.)

Pax tibi sit multa in Christo Iesu fratre et domino nostro, mi frater. Scripseram tibi me abiturum. Abiturus eram comite Felice Manzio, noctu exitum parans die Solis. Ibi coniux mea (ut Satan nunquam quiescit) Felicem, qui priore nocte in domum suam rursus a me secesserat ibi expecturum[1], se prodituram aiebat. Ego immensam importunitatem Evae negligens exibam; exibat ipsa per aliam ianuam[2] in parentis domum ubi tragoediam excitavit non parvam super abitu meo. Interim ego venio ad portam mihi proximam clausam; ascendo ad vicinam ne noscerer. Cautus volebam esse; pulsabam ut aperiretur. Ibi acclamat mihi e domo sua Domina Meisin neminem dicens emitti per eam portam (id quod et verum erat), eundum mihi esse ad portam Nuenmerkt Dum redeo, precor Dominum ut significaret quid factu[3] potius esset. Incidebat statim reditus in domum meam, ne occasio (posthac vel mihi proscripto, vel Felici prodito per coniugem) ad fratres Zollikanos clam veniendi positis vigiliis amputaretur. Deinde pene claudicabum, scabie pedum me vexante. Tertio portae clausio me tenebat. Reversus itaque expecto aliud a Domino. Libros meos universos in cathalogum conscripsi, dum domi maneo, omnibus puto manifestus cum prospiciam et fratres admittam. Non exeo tamen quoquam, id quod mihi asyli[4] vice est contra captivitatem a Zinlio, qui et ipse in captivitatem vadit iuxta Apocalypsim. Tu consule num simul vendi possint et num cathalogus iste cuippiam Abbatum mittendus, ut Cappellensi aut studioso alicui, qui inspecto eo aut omnes simul[5], quod vix fore auguror, aut aliquot saltem redimat. Quorum precium non adnotatum est, illos ego non apprecio, gratis tanquam auctarium appreciatis adiecturus. Appreciatis insuper (modo emptor sit promptus) aliquid patiar detrahi. Rectus commodiusque me intelligis quam ego doceam. Si potes prae valetudine, quae tua est charitas, non deeris scio. Si Iacobus tecum est, dato ei ut circumferat cathalogum si videtur. Quod praesens sim et quod id ex cheirographo isto deprehendi possit nihil cura. De Adriano[6] Grebelio non respondisti num te solverit, etsi non dubitum hominem nondum satisfecisse. Cupio tamen certior reddi ut possim libere minusque temere cum litteris missis ad satisdationem pertrahere[7] vix tandem. Si quid certi habes de Zinlii scriptione adversus me meosque infallibiles locos e Scriptura, si licet, et si integrum tibi est, paucis ostende. Audio sub prelo ese libellum. Vis dicam? Mendaciter impudentem et impudenter mendacem libellum oportet esse. Contra quem, si non rsscribo civitatem hanc lusurus, nunquam rescribam. Mortuo pisce taciturnior magisque mutus futurus. Locos quos habere aiunt Zinlium eos esse indicant quos Scaphusiae cuidam dederim. Si ita est, Erasmo dedi, nesciens num et ipse spiritu et pseudadelphiai[8] Anemundi defuncti persuasus Zinlio miserit.

Dum isti Evangelistae, qui regnum post bestiam acceperunt, dum reges isti potestatem suam uno consilio bestiae tradunt, dum[9] contra Agnum eos suo tempore victurum pugnant, interim valeto tu in pace Domini et patientia. Responde si potens es ad scribendas litteras sinente morbi[10] interregno.

Theodori et Urbani grammaticas, Metamorphosim et forsitan Annotationes Erasmi in Novum Testamentum, habes puto in Taberna tua Libraria; Lucretium quoque et Horatium cum commentariis.

Ligatos mittam, vel deferri sinam, si quis petat videre, aut veniat domum meam, quisquis futurus emptor. Si scholam graecam expectant studiosi litteratores, spes est Graecos saltem codices venum iri.

1. A final *s* is crossed out and a stroke placed above the *u* as abbreviation for *m*. 2. Followed by an unintelligible mark, as if a letter had been started and then crossed out. 3. An additional stroke added to the last letter is crossed out. 4. Followed by *loco* which is crossed out. 5. Followed by *aut* which is crossed out. 6. Followed by a character which is crossed out, possibly *n*. 7. Followed by a character which is crossed out, possibly *f* or *s*. 8. In Greek characters. 9. Added above the line. 10. Apparently final *i* is written over an *o*, or vice versa.

II.

Abundant peace be to you in Christ Jesus our Brother and Master, my brother! I had written to you that I was going away. I was going to go, having Felix Manz[2] as my companion, and was preparing to leave by night on Sunday. Then my wife[3] (how Satan never rests!) said she would betray Felix, who on the night before had again left me and gone to his house there to wait for me. I, without heeding Eve's very urgent entreaty, started out. She, too, started out through another door and went to father's house[4] where she stirred up no small commotion regarding my going away. Meanwhile I come to the gate nearest to me which is closed.[5] I go on up to the near-by one, fearing I might be recognized. I wanted to be cautious; I knocked for them to open for me. Then Mrs. Meis[6] calls to me from her house saying that no one was left out through that gate (which also was true) and that I had to go to the Neumarkt gate. While on my way back I pray the Lord that He should show me what would be the best thing to do. It occurred to me at once when I had returned to my house that if I should later be banished or Felix be betrayed by my wife, then the opportunity of coming secretly to the Zollikon brethren[7] might be cut off through the placing of guards. Thereupon I went almost hobbling along, due to the itch that troubled my feet For the third time the closing of a gate held me back. So then having returned again, I am awaiting something else from the Lord.

I have listed all my books in a catalogue[8] while staying at home; my staying at home is well known, I believe, to everyone, since I look out and also receive the brethren. However I do not go out at all, which cir-

cumstance serves me as an asylum against captivity by Zwingli,[9] who is also himself going into captivity according to the Apocalypse.[10] Give your advice as to whether they can be sold together and whether this catalogue should be sent to someone of the Abbots, as for instance to the Abbot of Cappell,[11] or to some scholar, who upon looking it over might either buy the whole lot at once, which I hardly hope for, or at least some of them. On those whose price has not been marked I do not set any price, intending to throw them in free as an addition to those that are priced. From those that are priced I may allow something to be taken off besides (if only the purchaser be prompt). You know me better and more perfectly than I can express myself. If you are permitted by your state of health, you will not fail, I know, for so do you love me. If Jacob[12] is with you, bid him to circulate the catalogue, if you think best. Do not worry about the fact that I am hereabouts and that this can be discovered from the handwriting itself.

Regarding Adrian Grebel[13] you did not reply whether he has paid you, although I have no doubt that the man has not yet made settlement. I desire however to be informed, so that I may be able freely and less fearfully with the sending of letters to secure payment somehow at last.

If you know anything definite regarding Zwingli's treatise[14] against me and my infallible passages from the Scripture, if you have opportunity and it is fresh in your mind, show it in a few words. I hear that a book is under the press. Do you want me to say it? It must be falsely shameless and a shamelessly false book. If I do not write in reply to this at the risk of my citizenship here, I shall never reply; I shall be silenter and more speechless than a dead fish.[14a] The passages which they say Zwingli has, they point out to be those that I gave to a certain one at Schaffhausen.[15] If that is the case, I gave them to Erasmus,[16] not knowing whether also he would send them to Zwingli, he having been persuaded to do so by the spirit and the false-brotherhood of the deceased Anemundus.[17]

While these ministers of the Gospel, who have received the kingdom after the beast, while these kings hand over to the beast their power with one consent, while they make war against the Lamb, who is destined to overcome them in his own time,[18] in the meantime may you fare well in the peace and patience of the Lord. Reply if you are able to write letters, when your illness gives you leave.

The grammars of Theodorus[19] and Urbanus,[20] the Metamorphoses,[21] and perhaps Erasmus' Annotations on the New Testament,[22] you have, I think, in your bookshop; also Lucretius[23] and Horace[24] with the commentaries.

I shall send them wrapped up, or I shall permit them to be carried

down if anyone desires to see them, or let him come to my house, whoever is going to be a purchaser. If the learned scholars are expecting a Greek school,[25] there is hope that the Greek books at least are going to be sold.

NOTES

2. Felix Manz was a close friend of Grebel, a fellow-leader in the new movement. He, like Grebel had been a humanist, a learned Hebraist as well as Greek and Latin scholar, and friend of Zwingli. He lived at the home of his mother in Zurich in the Neustadt, outside the old part of the city within the wall, hence the necessity for Grebel to secure exit through one of the city gates. Manz was the first martyr of the Swiss Brethren, having been executed by drowning in the Limmat in Zurich, January 5, 1527.
3. The reference is to his wife and the allusion is to the second phase of the temptation in the Garden of Eden. Genesis 3:6.
4. Through the kind assistance and information of Dr. A. Corrodi-Sulzer, whose special research has made him an expert on the Zurich of Grebel's time, it is possible to fix rather definitely the location of Grebel's movements in his attempt to flee. Dr. A. Corrodi-Sulzer thinks that Grebel probably lived in the house adjoining that of his father on the "Neumarkt", and that in consequence he naturally went to the nearest gate, the Neumarkt gate. Finding this closed he went through a short alley, called "Untere Zaune", along the city wall to the "Kirchgasse" which goes out of the city through the Lindenthor. Dr. Corrodi proves that Mrs. Meis' house was on the corner of the "Untere Zaune" and the "Kirchgasse", very near the Lindenthor. Finding this gate closed, Grebel returned to the Neumarkt gate, only to find it still closed. (A picture of the Neumarkt gate taken from Jos. Murer's plan of city of Zurich of 1576 may be seen in Corrodi-Sulzer's *Das Haus zum Kronenthor in Zurich, Zuricher Taschenbuch,* 1925).
6. The Meis family was a well-known Zurich family. Cf. index of persons in Egli, *Aktensammlung.* According to Dr. A. Corrodi-Sulzer, Mrs. Meis was a sister-in-law of Grebel, being the sister of Hans Escher, second husband of Grebel's sister Dorothea.
7. Zollikon was a small village five miles from Zurich southward along the east shore of the lake, and under the authority of the city. It early became the center of the Anabaptist movement in the immediate vicinity of Zurich. Cf. A. Nuesch, und H. Bruppacher, *Das Alte Zollikon,* Zurich, 1899.
8. Diligent search for this catalog in the archives of Zurich and St. Gall failed to uncover it. It seems strange that the letter was preserved, but the list not.
9. No direct requests from Zwingli to the City Council for Grebel's arrest are known, neither could specific orders for his arrest be discovered. The reference must be to the influence of Zwingli in securing the general mandates and decrees for the suppression of Anabaptism in Zurich.
10. Revelation of St. John, 13:10.
11. Wolfgang Joner had been abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Cappell in the Canton of Zurich, about fifteen miles south of the city of Zurich since November, 1519. He was a friend of Zwingli and a supporter of the evangelical reform, exerting his influence in the two Zurich disputations of 1523 to that end. He reformed the monastery and finally permitted it to be transformed into a school in 1527. He died on the field of battle at Cappell in October, 1531. (Information taken from Zw. W. I, p. 568, n. 5)
12. There is no certainty about the identity of "Jacobus". He might be Jacob Hottinger of Zollikon, one of the "brethren", or possibly a servant and assistant of Castelberger. It is hardly possible that it could be "Georg vom Hause Jacob", called "Blaurock".
13. Adrian Grebel was a second cousin of Conrad Grebel.
14. The pamphlet referred to must in the nature of the case have been a pamphlet directed against the Swiss Brethren of whom Grebel was leader, with especial reference to some of Grebel's own deductions from the Scripture. The only

possible identification of the pamphlet is the one issued under date of May 27, 1525 at Zurich entitled, *Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von der Kindertaufe.* The "infallible passages from the Scripture" are possibly those used by Grebel against infant-baptism and in defense of adult baptism on confession of faith only in his *Petition of Protest and Defense* to the Zurich Council of December, 1524. The petition is reprinted in the *Goshen College Record Review Supplement* for January, 1926. The pamphlet by Zwingli is to be found in the critical edition of *Zwingli's Works,* Volume IV, pp. 188ff, edited by Egli, Finsler, and Koehler.

14a. *Mute* was the stock epithet of fishes in ancient Greek writers. "Silenter than a fish" then became proverbial for a taciturn person. With characteristic exaggeration the writer here says: "Silenter than a dead fish". On the proverb see Erasmus *Adagia,* I. 5.29.

15. Grebel was in Schaffhausen, a Swiss city on the Rhine north of Zurich,, probably twice, in February, and in April, 1525, in both cases staying with Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister. Cf. C. A. Baechtold, *Die Schaffhauser Wiedertaeufer in der Reformationszeit, Beitraege zur Vaterlaendischen Geschichte, Heft* 7, 1900, Schaffhausen, pp. 73ff.

16. This may be Erasmus Schmid (Fabritius), former priest at Stein a. Rh., a supporter of Zwingli. Cf. *Zw. W.,* VII., p. 84. It may also be Erasmus Ritter. Cf. Boechtold, *op. cit.*

17. Anemund de Coct was a young French knight from the Dauphine who had become interested in the Lutheran movement, had gone to Wittenberg, joined the Reformation, and was endeavoring to have the reformers push the evangelical movement in France also. Grebel met him while the latter was in Switzerland, apparently having been confident of winning him to his own views and securing in him a "new brother". They were together in Schaffhausen, where de Coct died in March, 1525. After leaving Grebel de Coct had however been swung back by Zwingli and his associates. A letter telling of the death of "Anemundus" is printed in Herminjard, *op. cit.,* p. 343.

18. The language of the sentence to this point is mostly taken from the Revelation of St. John, XVII, verses 13, 14, 17.

19. Theodorus Gaza (c. 1400-1475) was a Byzantine scholar and writer who came from Constantinople to Italy in 1430. He taught Greek in Italy at Ferrara. Here he composed his Greek Grammar which long enjoyed a high reputation. It was used by Budaeus in Paris and by Erasmus who translated part of it into Latin.

20. Urbanus (of Bologna?).

21. This is probably the lengthy and well-known work called the *Metamorphoses,* by the Roman poet Ovid, who flourished about the beginning of the Christian Era. The poem is in 15 Books, and is a collection of all the mythological stories that involve the transformations of things and beings into something else. Hence the title, a Greek word, meaning Transformations. Apuleius, a Latin writer of the second century, also wrote a work with this title which is less well known.

22. Erasmus published Lorenzo Valla's unpublished manuscript, *Annotationes ad Novum Testamentum.* in Paris, 1505.

23. Lucretius was a poet and philosopher at Rome, born about 98 B. C. and died in 55 B. C. He is famous for his poem in six Books, On The Nature of Things. This work gives the completest expression of the Epicurean philosophy that has come down to us from an ancient writer.

24. Horace was probably the greatest lyric poet Rome ever had. He lived from 65 to 8 B. C. He is best known for his Odes; but he also wrote Epodes Satires, and Epistles.

25. The "Greek School" referred to here is the theological school established by Zwingli in Zurich in June, 1525, with Ceporin as the teacher of classics. The opening session was held June 19th. Zwingli, Ceporin and Leo Jud took part. Cf. Egli, *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,* I., p. 341f.

III.

Viel Frieden sei mit Dir in Jesus Christus, unserem Bruder und Herrn. Mein Bruder! Ich hatte Dir geschrieben, dass ich weggehen werde. Ich war auch im Begriffe wegzugehen mit Felix Manz[2] als meinem Begleiter und zwar Sonntag Nacht. Da sagte meine Gattin (wie der Satan niemals ruht), sie werde Felix, der in der vorhergehenden Nacht von mir wieder in sein Haus zurueckgekehrt war und dort wartete, verraten. Indem ich mich um die dringende Bitte der Eva[3] nicht kuemmerte, ging ich weg. Sie selbst ging durch eine andere Tuer in das Haus des Vaters[4], wo sie eine nicht geringe Aufregung ueber mein Fortgehen verursachte. Unterdessen komme ich zu dem mir naechsten Tor[5], das geschlossen war. Ich gehe weiter zum naechsten. Um nicht erkannt zu werden wollte ich vorsichtig sein. Ich klopfte, damit man mir aufmache. Da ruft mir aus ihrem Haus die Frau Meis[6] zu, dass niemand durch dieses Tor herausgelassen werde (was wahr war), ich muesse zum Neumarkt Tor gehen. Waehrend ich zurueckgehe bitte ich den Herrn, mir zu zeigen, was am ehesten zu tun sei. Da kam mir alsbald der Gedanke, dass es besser sei, in mein Haus zurueckzukehren. Fuer den Fall, dass man mich spaeter verbannen und meine Frau den Felix verraten wuerde, waere es unmoeglich heimlich zu den Zollikoner Bruedern[7] zu kommen, da sicher Wachen ausgestellt werden wuerden. So ging ich, so sehr mich meine entzuendeten Fuesse schmerzten, humbelnd weiter und zum dritten mal hielt mich ein verschlossenes Tor zurueck. So kehrte ich also wieder heim und erwartete nun etwas anderes von dem Herrn.

Waehrend ich zu Hause blieb, habe ich alle meine Buecher in einem Katalog[8] zusammengestellt. Dass ich in meinem Hause verweile, ist, glaube ich, allen offenkundig, da ich hinausschaue und die Brueder zu mir lasse. Doch gehe ich nicht aus, was mir als ein Asyl dient gegen eine etwaige Verhaftung durch Zwingli,[9] der nach der Apokalypse[10] noch selber in die Gefangenschaft gehen wird. Bitte sage mir, ob die Buecher zusammen verkauft werden koennen und ob dieser Katalog zu einem der Aebte zu schicken sei, vielleicht zu dem von Kappel[1] , oder zu einem der Gelehrten, der nach Einsichtnahme entweder alle zusammen kauft, was ich kaum annehme, jedoch mag das eine oder andere fuer ihn in Betracht kommen. Jene, deren Preis nicht angeschrieben ist, schaetze ich nicht. Ich bin bereit dieselben gleichsam als Zugabe zu den mit einem Preis versehenen hinzuzufuegen. Ueberdies mag das Preisangebot etwas heruntergesetzt werden, wenn nur der Kaeufer prompt bezahlt. Du wirst es schon recht machen falls es nur dein Gesundheitszustand erlaubt. Ich weiss dass Du mich gern hast. Wenn Jakob[12] bei Dir ist, so gib ihm den Katalog, damit er ihn herumtrage, vorausgesetzt, dass Du das fuer gut findest. Mach Dir keine Sorge daraus, dass ich hier in der Umgebung bin, und dass dies aus diesem Schreiben ersichtlich ist.

Von Adrian Grebel[13] hast Du nicht bemerkt ob er Dich bezahlt hat, andererseits zweifle ich nicht daran, dass diese Sache noch schwebt. Bitte benachrichtige mich in jedem Falle, damit ich ungehindert und weniger vorsichtig die Briefe senden kann um endlich eine Regelung dieser Angelegenheit herbeizufuehren.

Wenn Du etwas Gewisses von Zwinglis Pamphlet[14] gegen mich und meine unumstoessliche Stellen aus der Schrift weisst, so sage es mir bei Gelegenheit und wenn es Dir klar vor Augen liegt, mit ein paar Worten. Ich hoere, dass ein Buch im Druck ist — sollte ich nicht besser sagen ein luegnerisch unverschaemtes und ein unverschaemtes luegnerisches Buch? Wenn ich gegen dieses nicht schreibe, wegen der Gefahr, mein Buergerrecht zu verlieren, so werde ich niemals darauf antworten. Ich werde schweigsamer und stummer als ein toter Fisch[14a]. Die Stellen, die Zwingli anfuehrt, sollen nach dem Urteil einiger jene sein, die ich in Schaffhausen[15] einem gegeben haette. Wenn dem so ist, gab ich sie dem Erasmus[16], nicht gegeben haette. Wenn dem so ist, ggab ich sie dem Erasmus[16], nicht ahnend, dass er sie auch dem Zwingli geben wird. Der Geist der falschen Bruderschaft des verstorbenen Anemundus[17] muss Erasmus beeinflusst haben.

Waehrend diese Evangelisten, die ihre Herrschaft nach dem Tier empfingen, waehrend diese Koenige ihre Macht durch *einen* Beschluss dem Tier uebergeben, waehrend sie gegen das Lamm, das sie zu seiner Zeit besiegen wird, streiten[18] — unterdessen lebe Du wohl im Frieden und in der Geduld des Herrn. Antworte sobald Du zum Briefschreiben faehig bist und deine Krankheit es Dir erlaubt.

Die Grammatiken von Theodorus[19] und Urbanus[20], die Metamorphoses[21] und wohl auch Erasmus' Anmerkungen zum Neuen Testament[22] hast Du, glaube ich, in Deinem Buecherladen, so auch den Lukretius[23] und den Horaz[24] mit Kommentaren.

Ich will Dir die Buecher zusammengebunden schicken oder ich lasse sie hinunterbringen, wenn jemand sie sehen will oder schicke eventuelle Kaeufer in mein Haus. Wenn die gelehrten Sprachmeister eine griechische Schule[25] errichten werden, besteht die Hoffnung, dass wenigstens die griechischen Baende verkauft werden.

Anmerkungen

1. Obwohl das folgende Brieffragment anonym vorliegt. besteht kein Zweifel, dass es aus Grebels Hand stammt. Es besteht Grund zur Annahme, dass der Brief an Andreas Castelberger gerichtet war. Der Empfaenger wird "Bruder" genannt, als naher Freund betrachtet, ferner als jemanden, der mit Zurich und Umgebung bekannt ist und genuegende Kenntnisse besitzt, sowie mit Gelehrten verkehrt um griechische und lateinische Klassiker anbieten zu koennen. Weiterhin setzt Grebel voraus, dass der Adressat mit der Arbeit der Druckerpresse vertraut sei und selbst einen Buecherladen oder mindestens eine Buechersammlung besitzt. Das kann fast niemand anders sein als "Andres uf der Stuelzen" oder "Andreas Castelberger aus dem Bunt", ein "bibliopola" oder "Buchfeiler" der bereits im Jahre 1522 als aktiver Fuehrer der Radikalen genannt wird. Vgl. F. Jecklin. "Zur Geschichte der Wiedertaeufer", *Anzeiger fuer Schweizerische Geschichte,* herausgegeben von der Allgemeinen geschichtforschenden Gesellschaft der Schweiz, 1900, No. 3, 327—331, "Bittschrift des Wiedertaeuferapostels Andreas Castelberg an den Rat von Zurich, 1525 Februar 21, mit biographischer Einleitung. Egli, Aktensammlung, passim. Uebersicht ueber Castelberger's Einfluss und Taetigkeit am besten bei E. Egli's Schweizerischer Reformationsgeschichte, I, Zurich 1910, entsprechend Register. S. auch Neff, Art. "Andres auf der Stuelzen", *Mennonitisches Lexikon.*) Der verschiedentliche Hinweis Grebel's auf den Krankheitszustand

des Adressaten laesst einen weiteren Schluss auf Castelberger zu. Es ist bekannt, dass ein Ratserlass vom 28. Januar 1525 Castelberger's Bitte nachkam, das gegen ihn erlassene Verbannungsurteil (wegen Taeuferei) aus Krankheitsgruenden vorlaeufig nicht zur Ausfuehrung zu bringen. Vgl. Egli, *Aktensammlung,* sowie die von Jecklin ed. "Bittschrift". Es sei ferner vermerkt, dass Grebel und Castelberger in den Akten sowohl als auch in dem bedeutsamen Brief Grebels an Muenzer (abgedr. Cornelius, Gesch. d. Muensterischen Aufruhrs, II, 240, Anhang) jeweils nebeneinander genannt werden was wohl auf ihre besondere Freundschaft hinweist.

Allem nach ist der Brief im Mai 1525 geschrieben worden. Als zeitliche Grenzen ergeben sich: 1. der Tod des Anemund de Coct auf welchen Grebel Bezug nimmt. A. de C. starb um den 20. Maerz 1525. (Herminjard, Correspondance des Reformateurs usw. p. 343.) 2. die Errichtung der "griechischen Schule" (Prophezei) auf die Grebel hinweist. Sie geschah im Brachmonat 1525. (Egli, *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,* I, Zurich 1910, p. 341ff). Eine naehere Begrenzung ist moeglich auf Grund der Neugier Grebels wegen einer in Vorbereitung befindlichen Schrift Zwingli's gegen ihn. Dabei kann es sich wohl um Zwinglis *Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von der Kindertaufe* handeln, die in der letzten Woche des Mai 1525 herauskam. (S. folgende Anm. Nr. 14.)

Der hier erstmals veroeffentlichte Brief ist fast allen Bearbeitern dieses Gebietes entgangen. R. Nitsche in seiner *Geschichte der Wiedertaeufer in der Schweiz zur Reformationszeit,* Einsiedeln, New York, Cincinnati and St. Louis, 1885, S. 47, bezog ein Urteil ueber diesen Brief von *Joh. v. Mueller und R. Glutz Blotzheims Geschichten schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft fortgesetzt von J. J. Hottinger,* VII, Zurich, 1829, wo es s. 44 heisst: "____Ein letzter unvollendeter Brief (Grebels) spricht von Versuchen zur Flucht, vom zerruetteten Zustand seines Vermoegens und seiner Gesundheit. Der bittere Ton selbst gegen seine, sonst frueher geliebte, Gattin, laesst auf die Qualen eines Gemuetes schliessen, aus welchem mit der Reinheit des Bewusstseins und Willens schon lange aller innerer Friede gewichen war." Vergleiche mit diesem schiefen Urteil den Text des Briefes!

Das Original befindet sich im Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zurich, fasc. E. II, 349, s. 312 (Buecher des Antistitialarchivs). Der betr. Band hat den Titel "Literae ad D. Huldricum Zwinglium ab Ao. 1525 — 1631 cum A'iam miscellae alia". Gefaelliger Auskunft durch Herrn Staatsarchivar Dr. Hauser zufolge handelt es sich hier um eine im 17. Jahrhundert geordnete Sammlung von Akten des Antistitiums. Eine sorgfaeltige Durchsicht dieses Fascikels hat zu keinen weiteren Beziehungen zu Grebel gefuehrt. Der Schluss liegt nahe, dass Zwingli nach dem Weggang Grebels aus Zurich dessen literarische Hinterlassenschaft (nur dieses Brieffragment?) konfiszieren liess.

Das Stueck erscheint hier zum erstenmal im Druck. Die Mennonite Historical Society am Goshen College besitzt eine Schwarz-Weiss Kopie. Fuer die englische Uebersetzung und philologischen Anmerkungen traegt Herr Edward Yoder, M. A., Professor der klassischen Sprachen am Goshen College, die Verantwortung. Herr Staatsarchiv Dr. Hauser hat zu einer vergleichenden Abschrift und Uebersetzung ins Deutsche verholfen.

Es sei hier besonderer Dank ausgesprochen fuer die freundlichen Foerderungen, die Dr. Ernst Correll waehrend seiner Studien in schweizerischen Archiven und Bibliotheken sowohl angesichts dieses komplizierten Brieffragments wie auch in anderen Fragen zu Teil wurden. Dies geschah vornehmlich von Seiten der Herren Professor D. Dr. Walther Koehler an der Universitaet Zurich, der Herren Beamten am Staatsarchiv und an der Stadtbibliothek (Vadiana) zu St. Gallen. Der Vorstand des Zuricher Staatsarchivs Herr Professor Dr. Nabholz und der Direktor der Zentralbibliothek Herr Professor Dr. Escher, sowie Herr Archivdirektor Dr. Schiess, Praesident des Historischen Vereins von St. Gallen, waren unermuedlich in der Aufklaerung und Bereitstellung des Materials. Dann hat Herr Dr. phil. honoris causa A. Corrodi-Suelzer seine intimen Kenntnisse altzuericherischer Familien- und Baugeschichte in liebenswuerdigster Weise zur Verfuegung gestellt. Von

grossem Wert waren auch der Beistand der Herren Dr. phil. Leonhard von Muralt, der z. Zt. eine vollstaendige Sammlung der Zuricher Taeuferakten vorbereitet, Dr. Leo Weisz, dessen wirtschaftshistorische Studien ueber Zurich zur Aufklaerung einschlaegiger Fragen verhalf, und Dr. iuris A. Farner, der sich mit Erfolg um eine neuartige Interpretation der Zwinglianischen Staatsauffassung bemueht.

Eine besondere Genugtuung war es bei dem direkten Nachkommen Conrad Grebels, Herrn Staatsanwalt Dr. iuris Hans von Grebel und seiner Familie in Zurich, soviel freundliches Verstaendnis fuer die Conrad Grebel-Forschung zu finden. Wertvolle Grebeliana aus der 500jaehrigen Geschichte derer von Grebel wurden bereitwilligst zum Studium ueberlassen. Desgleichen stand, vermittelt durch Herrn Dr. Corrodi-Sulzer, zur Verfuegung ein "Greblisches Stammbuch" ("Wappenbuch"), angelegt in der ersten Haelfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, nunmehr im Besitze eines Gliedes der Grebelfamilie, Fraeulein Anna Koelliker, Muehlebachstrasse 96. Zurich.

Auch sei hier gedacht der freundlichen Unterstuetzung durch die Herren Dr. Jakob Strieder, Professor der Wirtschaftsgeschichte an der Universitaet Muenchen, Oberbibliotheksrat Dr. K. Schottenloher an der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek und die Herren Beamten der Handschriftenabteilung daselbst.

2. Felix Manz wie Grebel war ein Humanist und frueherer Freund Zwinglis, spaeter der erste Maertyrer der Schweizer-Brueder, ertraenkt in der Limmat in Zurich am 5. Januar 1527. Lit. *Die Chronik des Bernhard Wyss,* Ausgabe Finsler, Basel 1901, Seite 77, Nr. 3, siehe auch *E. Eglis Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,* I, Zurich 1910, Register unter Manz.
3. S. Anm. zum engl. Text.
4. Junker Jakob Grebel, Ratsherr in Zurich, wohnhaft am Neumarkt "auf dem Bach".
5. Herr Dr. A. Corrodi-Sulzer, Zurich, hat auf Grund seiner genauen Kenntnis des alten Zurich den Fluchtversuch Grebels topographisch beschrieben: Conrad wohnte mit seiner Familie allem nach in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft zu seines Vaters Haus, vielleicht im Turm dieses Hauses "auf dem Bach". Das naechste Tor war das Neumarkt Tor.. Als Grebel dies geschlossen fand, ging er wohl durch die "Untere Zaune" zum Lindentor an der Kirchgasse. Jene Frau Meis, auf die Grebel Bezug nimmt, war Ecke "Untere Zaune" und Kirchgasse gegenueber dem Lindentor ansaessig. Grebel fand auch dieses Tor geschlossen, worauf er auf Anregung von Frau Meis zum Neumarkttor zurueckkehrte, um die gleiche Erfahrung zu machen. — Vgl. Keller-Escher, *Die Familie Grebel,* Zurich 1884. Eine Wiedergabe des Neumarkttors nach Jos Murers Plan der Stadt Zurich befindet sich bei Corrodi-Sulzers *Das Haus zum Kronentor in Zurich* im *Zuricher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr* 1925.
6. Nach Herrn Dr. Corrodi-Sulzer war Frau Meis vermutlich die Schwester Conrad Eschers, der Grebels juengere Schwester Dorothea zur Frau hatte. Die Meis gehoeren zu den fuehrenden Zuricher Geschlechtern.
7. Zollikon, ein Dorf 5 Meilen suedlich von Zurich am Ostufer des Zuricher Sees. Hier entwickelte sich fruehzeitig eine Art Zentrum der Taeufer. Der St. Galler Chronist Kessler (*Sabbata,* ed. von Egli und Schoch, St. Gallen, 1902, S. 142) nennt "Zollika der Wiedertaeufer Heimat, wo man sich gemeiniglich haette taufen lassen, um dann als die wahre christliche Kirche, wie die ersten Christen Gemeinschaft der zeitlichen Gueter zu halten____". Aehnlich berichten ohne besonderen Nachweis Nuesch und Bruppacher, *Das alte Zollikon,* Zurich 1899. Sozialistische Schriftsteller beziehen sich gerne auf ein Taeuferbekenntnis von Zollikon, das eine kommunistische Plattform enthalten soll. Verglichen mit den Forschungsergebnissen von Egli, Bergmann u. a. erweist sich dies als eine Fiktion. Vgl. kritische Uebersicht bei Correll, *Schweizerisches Taeufer-Mennonitentum,* S. 43f. — Grebels Beziehungen zu Zollikon liegen klar zu Tage, siehe Egli, *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,* I, Register unter Conrad Grebel und Zollikon. Wir finden Grebel unter den Zollikoner Bruedern anfangs Juli 1525, von wo er gemeinsam mit Marx Bosshart eine Bittschrift um sicheres Geleit an die Zuricher Obrigkeit sendet um

Zwinglis "Taufbuechlein" (s. unten Nr. 14) zu widerlegen. Diese Bittschrift ist wiedergegeben in Eglis *Aktensammlung*, und im Zusammenhang der Biographie Konrad Grebels von Chr. Neff in der *Gedenkschrift zum 400jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Mennoniten------*, Ludwigshafen 1925, S. 123. Naeheres in der Einleitung und in den Anmerkungen zur englischen Wiedergabe in *The College Record Review Supplement,* Goshen College, Indiana, Vol. XXVII, January 1926, S. 31f.

8. Nachforschungen nach diesem Katalog in Zurich und St. Gallen (Vadiana) verliefen ergebnislos. Koennte sich der betr. Katalog ev. in schweizerischen Klosterbibliotheken befinden?

9. Es liegen keine direkten Anforderungen Zwinglis an die Zuricher Obrigkeit vor, Grebel in Haft zu nehmen. Solche moegen muendlich uebermittelt worden sein. Andererseits mag sich Grebel allgemein auf die seit Januar 1525 erlassenen Mandate bezueglich Kinder- resp. Erwachsenentaufe beziehen, die auf Verhaftung usw. abzielen. — Vgl. was Zwingli an Vadian unter dem 31. Maerz 1525 schreibt: "Grebelius apud nos est, ad factionem suam nusquam non trahens, quoscunque potest, et ministerium nostrum sic adcusans et calumnians, ut, si maxime tales essemus, quales ipse predicat, minime tamen ipsum decebat usque adeo in bene meritum ingratum esse." *Zwingli's Saemtliche Werke,* a. a. O., VIII, Nr. 366, S. 313f.

10. Offenbarung Joh. 13, 10.

11. Wolfgang Joner war seit 1519 Abt des Cistercienser Klosters Cappel im Kanton Zurich, 15 Meilen suedlich der Stadt. Abt Joner war ein Freund der Zwinglianischen Sache, so sehr, dass er das Kloster Cappel im reformatorischen Sinne umwandelte und es im 1527 dem Zuricher Rat uebergab, der eine Schule daraus machte. Siehe Fussnote 5, S. 568, *Zwinglis Werke,* I, Egli-Finsler ed., 1905. — In Grebels Brief vom 18. Dezember 1523 an Vadian (*Vadianische Briefsammlung,* III, 1897, Nr. 374, S. 50, *Mitteilungen zur vaeterlaendischen Geschichte,* herausg. vom Hist. Verein in St. Gallen, XXVII) worin er die sog. 2. Zuricher Disputation und ihre Ergebnisse kritisiert, heisst es "Abbati Capellano, praeposito Imbriacensi et nescio quibus monstris rasis."

12. Vielleicht Jacob Hottinger aus Zollikon, einer der hervorstehenden Aktiviten in der Zuricher Taeufergruppe. Vgl. Egli, *Reformationsgeschichte,* I, Register unter Jak. Hottinger. Oder koennte es sich um "Blaurock", den Graubuendener "Georg vom Hause Jakob" handeln, oder vielleicht um einen Helfer Castelbergs?

13. Adrian Grebel, Vetter zweiten Grads von Conrad. Freundl. Hinweis durch Herrn Dr. Corrodi-Sulzer. S. Keller-Escher, *Familie Grebel,* Tafel I, Nr. 15.

14. Die hier angefuehrte Schrift Zwinglis muss der Periode nach Zwinglis "Taufbuechlein" sein, *"Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe, und von der Kindertaufe"* vom 27 Mai 1525, wiedergegeben in *H. Zwinglis Saemtliche Werke* Band IV (1915) S. 188ff, wo er die Taufe- und Obrigkeits Auffassung der Taeufer unmittelbar angreift.

Auf welche seiner "unumstoesslichen Stellen aus der Schrift" nimmt Grebel Bezug? Das "Taufbuechlein" Zwinglis fuehrt keine Stellen unter besonderer Bezugnahme auf bestimmte Taeufer an. Seine Citationen sind fast durchweg allgemeiner Art. Von den drei auffaelligen persoenlichen Anknuepfungen bleibt die eine (S. 279) obskur, waehrend die anderen (S. 288 und S. 322) einen wohl sicheren Schluss auf Blaurock, niemals aber auf Grebel zulassen. Etwas zweifelhaft bleibt die Erklaerung des vor dem Rat verlesenen Briefes der Taeufer. Es wird sich wohl um den von Koehler S. 285, Fussnote 26, wiedergegebenen Brief handeln, der am 18. Februar 1525 dem Rat unterbreitet wurde (Egli, *Aktensammlung* Nr. 646.) Dieser citiert Bibelstellen zur Rechtfertigung der Erwachsenentaufe und legt inhaltlich den Schluss auf Blaurock nahe. Die, wie es scheint, einzige ueberlieferte "offizielle" Darstellung des Taufarguments Grebels ist seine "Protestation und Schutzschrift" (November oder Dezember 1524), abgedr. durch Koehler in *Zwinglis Werke* a. a. O. III, 368ff. und als Anhang zu Chr. Neffs Biographie Grebels

in der *Gedenkschrift,* a. a. O. S. 128ff., vergleiche hiezu die englische Uebertragung mit ausfuehrlichem Kommentar in *The College Record Review Supplement, Goshen College,* Vol. XXII, January 1926. Wenn sich Grebel auf dieses Stueck berufen wuerde waere wohl sein Hinweis auf Erasmus (Fabritius,) siehe Anmerkung 16 und Zwingli's zwecklos. Es muss sich wohl um eine neuere Darstellung handeln. (Kessler, *Sabbata,* a. a. O. S. 149, in seinem Bericht ueber den Eindruck des "Taufbuechleins" in St. Gallen, als es in der Kirche zu Disputationszwecken verlesen werden sollte, citiert den Ausspruch eines Taeufers.: "Wir wartend och uf an geschrift von dem bruder Cunrat Grebel, so wir die erlanget, wellent wir och antwurt geben." Diese Angabe klaert die Berufung Grebels auf gewisse "Stellen" auch nicht auf. Sie laesst vielmehr darauf schliessen, dass Grebels Genossen auf eine Antwort auf Zwinglis Schrift warteten. Oder wird an die Grebels Zuricher "Protestation und Schutzschrift" gedacht? Oder an Grebels Brief vom 30. Mai 1525 an Vadian, den der letztere dem Rat von St. Gallen vorlegte? (Koehlers Vermutung, *Zwinglis Werke,* a. a. O. IV, S. 202). Grebel mag von vorneherein unrichtiger Weise vermutet haben, dass Zwingli gegen ihn und seine unumstoesslichen Schriften schreiben werde. In der Tat ist es auffaellig, dass Zwingli Grebel nirgends nennt, dagegen aber nur solche persoenlichen Illustrationen anfuehrt, die polemisch wirkungsvoll sind, wie jene, die sich ueber die Unkenntnis des Lateinischen auf Seiten eines Taeufers waehrend einer der Disputationen ueber die Tauffrage lustig macht. (S. 279f). Zwingli war gegen Katholiken wie Taeufer ein schlauer Polemiker.

Grebel vermerkt die Gefahr, dass er bei Widerlegung der Zwingli-Schrift sein Buergerrecht verlieren koennte. Enthielt die Zensurverordnung von Zurich solche Strafbestimmungen?

14a. Vgl. oben Nr. 9.

15. Grebel war in Schaffhausen waehrend des Fruehjahrs 1525 zusammen mit dem franzoesischen Edelmann Anemund de Coct (s. folg. Anm. Nr. 17). Es war ihm darum zu tun Dr. Sebastian Hofmeister, den spaeteren Reformator Schaffhausens sowie auch Erasmus Ritter (s. Anm. Nr. 16) fuer die Taeuferbewegung zu gewinnen. Ueber dieses Unternehmen berichtet auf Grund der Zeugenaussage Hofmeisters in Zurich zusammenfassend C. A. Baechtold, *Die Schaffhauser Wiedertaeufer in der Reformationszeit,* _L. *Beitraege zur Vaterlaendischen Geschichte,* herausg. vom Hist.-antiquar. Verein des Kantons Schaffhausen, 1900, 7. Heft, S. 73 — 118, insbes. S. 87f.; Jak. Wipf, *Sebastian Hofmeister der Reformator Schaffhausens,* ibid. 1918, konnte bisher noch nicht eingesehen werden. Die Darstellung Baechtolds ist nicht immer zuverlaessig. Herr Dr. Sulzer-Corrodi verhalf zur Richtigstellung von Baechtolds (allerdings auf Keller-Eschers a. a. O. beruhenden) Angabe, dass die Frau des Buergermeisters von Waldkirch Grebels Schwester war. Es handelt sich um eine entfernt Verwandte Grebels. Bezueglich anderer Unklarheiten Baechtolds in diesem Zusammenhang s. Correll, *Schweizerisches Taeufer-Mennonitentum,* S. 13.

16. Erasmus Ritter? Baechtold a. a. O. S. 87 berichtet ohne weitere Quellenangabe, dass Grebel in Schaffhausen auch Erasmus Ritter, einen Prediger am dortigen Muenster, zu gewinnen suchte. Vgl. Egli, Ref. Gesch., S. 117f. Die in *Zw. W.* IX fuer Brief Nr. 567 angekuendigte Biographie Ritters liegt hier noch nicht vor.
Es kann sich auch um Erasmus Schmid (Fabritius) handeln, der Priester in dem Schaffhausen benachbarten Stein a. Rh. war und einer der ersten Freunde Zwinglis wurde. S. H. Bullingers *Reformationsgeschichte,* ed. Hottinger und Voegeli, 1838, Wuhrmanns Register (1913), a. a. O. VII, S. 84. Schmid war in 1523 Chorherr am Grossmuenster zu Zurich, wurde aber im Sommer 1524 "zeitweilig" wegen seiner Teilnahme am Ittinger Sturm verbannt. In diesei Verbannung mag ihn Grebel in Schaffhausen getroffen haben.

17. Anemund de Coct, eine interessante rasch vorueberehende Erscheinung in der schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte, war ein franzoesischer Adeliger, dem es darum zu tun war die evangelische Bewegung in Deutschland und der

Schweiz nach seiner Heimat zu verpflanzen. Zuletzt befindet er sich unter dem Einfluss der Schweizer und es scheint, dass sowohl Zwingli als auch Grebel stark auf ihn einwirkten. Grebel war mit ihm in Schaffhausen, s. Anm. Nr. 15. Dort starb der Ritter de Coct im Maerz 1525. Es scheint, dass er, erst unter dem Einfluss Grebels, durch einen Besuch bei Zwingli von ersterem wieder abrueckte und Dr. Hofmeister vernahm, dass der Ritter bei seiner Rueckkehr von Zurich "zornig ueber Konraten Grebel" war. (Egli, Aktensammlung Nr. 692). So erklaert sich auch Grebels obige Aeusserung ueber die "falsche Bruderschaft" Anemunds. Vgl. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs dans les pays de la langue francaise.* I, S. 343.

18-24 s. die Anmerkungen zum englischen Text. — Nr. 20: Urbanus wartet noch genauer Bestimmung.

25. Die "Griechische Schule" oder "Prophezei" schon seit Jahren von Zwingli geplant, konnte endlich im Juni 1525 eingerichtet werden. Die erste oeffentliche Lektion wurde am 19. Juni gehalten. Naeheres bei Egli, *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte,* I, S. 241f. Auf dieses Institut nimmt Bullinger in seiner Reformationsgeschichte Bezug, wenn er I. S. 237 sagt, dass Grebel und Manz enttaeuscht gewesen waeren, dass man sie nicht zu Professoren der Alten Sprachen ernannt habe. Dies muss bereits im Jahre 1523 der Fall gewesen sein. Vgl. *Chronik des Bernh.* Wyss, a. a. O., S. 77, Nr. 3.

The Mennonite Church and the Education of Her Youth *

A. J. Steiner

There is an intimate relationship between church and school, a relationship which should be made vital by Christians as they "teach men to observe all things whatsoever Jesus has commanded". Religion is as essential to the realization of a wholesome moral life as the air we breathe is to physical life. To ignore this fact in the education of our boys and girls is to fail hopelessly in the true purpose of a complete education. What we put into the schools today we shall reap in the life of the Church and the nation tomorrow.

We need not argue the fact that we, as a church, have become intensely interested in the education of our young people. Twenty-five years ago many of our well-meaning parents were not especially interested in educational affairs. Then we were a rural people, comfortably situated in our country homes, and the children, as a rule, were interested in the pursuits of their parents.

But the barriers of isolation have been broken down. The telephone is found in nearly every home; mail is delivered daily to the door; the radio gives a touch and information of happenings in the world at large. With the automobile have come improved roads, connecting the rural communities with nearby towns and cities, with the result that rural folks are accepting the habits and customs of their city neighbors. In many localities country children are conveyed to centralized or consolidated schools miles away and the old-time country school, sacred to many a heart, has given way to the modern educational system. The children are beginning to be interested in other things than the pursuits of their parents.

We are no longer the district rural people or church that we were twenty-five or fifty years ago. The typical congregation is no longer composed exclusively of farmers, blacksmiths and carpenters, but to some extent at least of teachers, doctors, nurses, business men, clerks, bankers; indeed almost all the legitimate and honorable walks of life are represented in the average Mennonite congregation of today. This fact has brought many problems; among them the educational problem presents an outstanding challenge.

Education of the right kind has its place. Beecher defined education as that which enables a man to use all of himself. It is one thing to

*An address delivered at the Christian Life Conference at Goshen College, February, 1927.

train an animal; it is a vastly different thing to educate a man, a complete personality. But Christianity is absolutely essential to true education because by no other means can we become acquainted with the world about us and within so as really to know ourselves, God and duty. "Education without Christianity will surround us with clever devils," said Wellington. The Old Testament prophet Hosea states this truth plainly. Turn to Hosea 4:6 and note the judgment that is passed upon Israel. It was not illiteracy, nor the lack of education that was destroying Israel, but the lack of the highest in education, the knowledge of Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and understanding.

In order to get a fuller comprehension of the educational system of the state as compared with the Christian education of the church let us make a brief statistical survey. According to the last census there were over one hundred million people living in the United States. Of this number more than fifty million are not identified with any church. Of the forty-three million young Americans under twenty-five years of age, seven out of ten—Jewish, Catholic and Protestants—are virtually untouched by the direct influence of any church. That means that our young men and women under twenty-five will, on an average, meet seven non-Christians of their age to three that receive some religious training. Knowing the moral and social standards of the average so-called Christian-professing youth of today, coupled with the foregoing statement, it is not difficult to comprehend the moral and religious atmosphere which is sure to surround most of our young people.

What are we doing to meet this condition? The religious education provided by the Protestant churches is woefully meager. The Jews provide for their children 335 hours of religious instruction annually. The Catholic church provides 200 hours. The Protestant Sunday School provides a scant fifty-hour course, with an average attendance of less than fifty per-cent. Some Protestant denominations exceed this while others fall below this meager schedule. The Mennonite church by means of Young People's Meetings, teacher training and mission study classes, together with some home training, normally raises this average above the fifty hours. But at the best she fails by far to reach the number of hours provided by Catholics or Jews.

In comparison with the secular education furnished by the state, the religious education is still less. A placard displayed at a Child Welfare Exhibit read like this, "Thirty minutes a week for religious instruction in Protestant churches. Instruction in mathematics offered in elementary and high schools, 1,067 hours, equivalent in point of time to forty-one years of Sunday School instruction. Instruction in writing, 364, equiva-

lent to fourteen years of Sunday School instruction." In other words, the state gives as many hours of instruction in mathematics in twelve years as the Protestant Sunday School gives religious instruction in forty-one years.

We quote another comparison. "The state in its wisdom, requires for the adequate instruction of its youth in English alone 93,500 minutes, and for their instruction in mathematics, 128,000 minutes, the work being done through a corps of completely trained teachers. The church has been satisfied with 1,000 minutes per year for the instruction of her young people in spiritual things, the twenty-minute periods once a week, being separated by intervals of seven days and the lesson being taught generally by persons who have had little or no experience in teaching, and also, we fear too often more lovers of pleasure than lovers of God. No wonder that in the majority of churches real conversions are few and far between."

Note the difference between what the state pays for secular education and what she spends for religious education.

The state pays per pupil, yearly for

Household Arts	$31.43	
Manual Arts	21.22	
Science	14.10	
Mathematics	13.31	
Foreign Language	12.49	
English	10.93	
Business	10.41	
History	8.53	
Religious Education		1.04
Secular Education	93.00	
Religious Education		1.04

The total spent for secular educaton amounts to $93.00 annually per pupil, that for religious education to $1.04. Do your eyes see it; does your heart feel it?

The public is calling for the reading and teaching of the Bible in the schools and some of the magazines and newspapers are carrying on an active campaign to that end. A great movement for week-day religious education, carried on by churches in co-operation with the schools is sweeping the country. In 1919 there were fifteen of these schools. Today the children of fifteen hundred cities are permitted to receive this systematic week-day religious instruction. Because the large majority of ministers in our denomination lack sufficient accredited Bible training they are not qualified for teaching these courses. No doubt the question is raised in the

minds of some as to the wisdom of this method and plan for bringing the Bible to our youth. Whether we approve of it or not, our young people have to meet it in many localities. This subject deserves an awakened interest and thoughtful consideration.

The following statistical report of Mennonite young people in schools and colleges is worthy of careful consideration in connection with a study of our educational problem.

States	Ohio	Indiana	Illinois	Michigan
El. Grades	1230	773	477	211
High School	330	173	115	27
Academy and College	76	55	28	3
No. of Colleges Attended.	11	6	9	1
Teaching	50	45	28	2
H. S. Age Not in H. S.	?	149	113	96
Total in School	1686	1046	648	240
Church Members	6000	3039	1989	692
Report Covers Membshp of ——		2586	1934	514

The report reveals a number of things: Almost one-third as many young people are in training as we have church members in these four states; almost two times as many in high school as there are out of high school. Those attending college are scattered among twenty-one different institutions. In some congregations practically all of the young people attend high school while in a few cases exactly the opposite is true, nearly all quit going to school after completing the eighth grade. In some congregations the percentage of those that attend high school and those that do not is about tied in numbers. By force of changed circumstances and varied environments, together with educational influences, the young people of such differing communities will think of life in different terms. To illustrate this point let us take two congregations and make the comparison:

One church in a prosperous community reports 54 in elementary grades, 21 in high school, 9 in college, 6 teaching, 1 not in high school. The minister from this church reported further: six young sisters taking nurses' training, one a bookkeeper, three young men serving as cashiers in banks, one is manager of a Woolworth store, five are clerking in stores.

The other church in a more or less isolated community reports 85 in elementary grades, 9 in high school, none in college, one teaching, 60 of high school age not in high school. The minister from this church said, "I am surprised at the number of young people that we have that should be in high school."

Will these people, old and young, living under these varied environ-

ments be able to enter sympathetically into each other's experiences and constructively and harmoniously labor together to solve the problems of the church? Will these ministers laboring with these churches be able to maintain a brotherly feeling and each pray God's blessing to attend the other in all his labors for the Lord?

In view of the foregoing facts and tables it is evident that there is short weight in Christian education in the Mennonite Church. In comparison with the hours given to religious training by Jews and Catholics the Mennonite Church with all her departments and combined efforts falls short. Considering the amount of money which the Mennonite Church contributes for Christian education, we again find short weight when we compare that with the amount members of the church pay to the state to maintain the secular schools. For instance, if an individual pays $100 taxes annually, half of that goes to the state for our public schools. A recent report of the state auditor of Ohio indicates that out of every tax dollar collected in Ohio 45 cents goes to the schools, while the cities and villages receive 28.2 cents. The report further shows that of the 45 cents received by the schools, only 4.7 cents goes for interest charges, but the cities and the villages pay 11 of their 28.2 cents for interests on bonded indebtedness. The auditors, delving a little deeper into the figures, find that the amount raised for school purposes by taxation during the tax year ending August 3, 1926, was $144,969,009.52 against $72,384,807.01 for cities and villages. In other words, of the total tax collected of $225,808,458.68 in the state, the schools receive over one-half.

The Mennonite Church membership in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois is approximately 11,740. It is stated that the average family in the United States is composed of five members. Taking that as a basis for the average sized family in the Mennonite Churches of the four central states named in the report given in this article, there should be 2,350 families. Each family pays an average of $100 annually in taxes and about half of this goes to maintain the state schools. In other words $116,500 is given annually by members of the Mennonite Church of these states to support the public schools. Compare this amount with what we pay to maintain our churches and provide the religious training of our youth at home and in our own church schools!

We appreciate what the church is doing in a missionary way and along other lines to build up the various institutions and departments of church work. But the church as a whole has not as yet met her obligations financially to develop constructively an educational program. A sound financial policy needs to be put into operation so that the men heading our educational institutions need not spend so much time solicit-

ing funds to operate the institutions.

There are various ways this can be done. Whatever course to taken, it is evident that a united effort combining all the available forces of the church, from conferences on down to the congregation and individual member will be necessary to put this program in full operation. Endowment may be the best form. It is a tremendous task; but with every shoulder at the wheel, it can be done; not in one year, but in course of time, we will, by the help of God, be able to meet and solve this problem.

If we want a church tomorrow we must take care of our young people. With nearly four thousand in these afore-named states in school annually, it is evident that the Mennonite Church faces a task which has never before confronted her in such a challenging form. When we stop to consider that a large majority of our youth are daily thrown into environment unfavorable to moral and spiritual growth and life, and that seven out of every ten of those with whom they associate receive no religious training whatever, under a corps of teachers many of whom are non-professing Christians, together with additional influences, a mixture of good and evil, it goes without saying that we are face to face with a proposition that cannot be met with the mere "turning of the hand."

There is but one safe conclusion to the whole matter. If we will have a future church holding to the distinctive doctrines of the Bible, we must provide some better system for wholesome religious training. The state does not make it her business to provide religious training, except through church co-operation. The question is whether we want a secular avenue through which to provide religious instruction. Such a policy is by no means ideal. It is up to the church to provide this needed instruction and to do this she will need to project herself into a vigorous campaign and program with that end in view. May she arise to a full sense of her duty to God and man, and build wisely and well for her future.

Two Old Church Letters of 1817 and 1842

I.

OHIO 1842

A Church-Letter of 1842*, in the Original and in English Translation:

Baer Taunschip Wayne Caunti Ohio d. 25. Septr. 1842.

Einen freundlichen und bruederlichen Gruss an alle Diener und Eltesten wie auch Brueder und Schwestern wo dieser zu sehen bekommen wuenschen wir zeitliches und ewiges Wohl ergehen und gedenket auch unser in euren Gebaetten Wir waeren solches auch gestonen zu Ihnen fuer euch in unser Schwacheit.
Weiteres wird hiermit bezeugt das die Witwe des abgestorbenen Christian Conrad Ferena geboren Schrag eine Schwester bey der gemein und so viel as bekant mit der gemeind in frieden stehet, und also auf ihre Anforderung ihr dieses Zeugnis mitgetheilt wird das wo si hinkomen wird man sie in allen Christlichen Ordnungen moechte antheil haben lassen also gegeben unter obmelten Datum von uns unterschriebenen

Christian Brand
Peter L. Schrock

Baer Township, Wayne County, Ohio, September 25, 1842.

A friendly and brotherly greeting to all ministers and elders, also brethren and sisters to whose sight this (letter) may come. We wish you temporal and eternal welfare and may you remember us in your prayers, as we also do you in our weakness.

Further this witnesseth herewith that the widow of the late Christian Conrad, Ferena nee Schrag, is a sister in the congregation and as far as is known is in peace with the church. And on her request this certificate has been given her so that wherever she goes she may be permitted to take part in all Christian privileges.

Given under the above date by us the undersigned

Christian Brand,
Peter L. Schrock.

*Reproduced from the original by kind consent of the owner, Bishop Eli Frey, Wauseon, Ohio. Spelling and punctuation are left as in the original. Original in ink on a sheet of note-paper 6x7 inches.

(Transcribed and Translated by H. S. B.)

II.

FRANCE 1817

A Church-Letter from Montbeliard* of 1817 in the Original and in English Translation

Geburt und Tauff und Abendmahlschein fuer Christian Cunrad ein Sohn von Marty Cunrad. (On the back of the sheet).

Auszug aus der register der Gemein der Menonisten oder Wehrlosen Christen zu Muempelgart.

Auff heut dato den 28te Herbstmonat 1792 ist Christian Cunrad ein Sohn von Marty Cunrad und Annalein Liechty gebohren worden.
Auff heut dato den 26te Martz 1809 hat der obgemelte Christian Cunrad, der heilige Tauff empfangen auff die Bekantnus seines Glaubens.
Auff heut dato den 13te Aprill 1817 hat der obgemelte Christian Cunrad das heilige Abendmahl empfangen also das er fuer ein Bruder und ein Mitglied der Gemein Gottes kann erkent und gehalten worden. Solches bezeugen wir Lehrer und Vorstander.

Hans Rich (?)**
Joseph S Frey
Jakob Cunradt

Hanss Lugbuell
Hans Graber

Excerpt from the register of the congregation of the Menonists or defenceless Christians at Muempelgart.

Birth, Baptism and Communion Certificate of Christian Conrad, a son of Martin Conrad. (On the back of the sheet).

On this date, September 28, 1792, Christian Conrad, a son of Marty Conrad and Annalein Liechty was born.
On this date, March 26, 1809, the above named Christian Conrad was baptised on confession of faith.
On this date, April 13, 1817, the above named Christian Conrad received the holy Lord's Supper so that he may be recognized and received as a brother and a member of the Church of God. This we ministers and officials testify,

Hans Rich (?)
Joseph S. Frey
Jacob Conrad

Hans Lugbill
Hans Graber

*Reproduced from the original in possession of Bishop Eli Frey of Wauseon, Ohio by his kind permission. The original is on a sheet of official note-paper 6x10 inches, bearing two printed official seals (stamps for taxation, one of 25 centimes) and one embossed stamp bearing the legend *Timbre Royale.*
(Transcription and Translation by H. S. B.)

** Original spelling uncertain.

Reviews and Notes

BOOKS

Die Badener Disputation 1526: Dr. Phil. Leonhard von Muralt—*Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte* (*II. Serie der Quellen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte*). Herausgegeben vom Zwingliverein in Zurch unter Redaktion von D. Dr. Walther Koehler, Professor an der Universitaet Zurich und Lic. Oskar Farner, Pfarrer in Stammheim.—III (VI der ganzen Sammlung), Leipzig, Verlag von M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1926, pp. 167.

In calling attention to Dr. von Muralt's book it must be said at the very beginning that the Baden Disputation is not one of the many disputations between Anabaptists and State Church representatives which C. Bergmann's illumnating article, "Disputationen", in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* discusses in relation to the whole Anabaptist movement. The occasion of the Disputation of Baden between the Catholics and the Zwinglians was the challenge by Dr. Joh. Eck, Professor of Theology at the University of Ingolstadt, (cf. Neff, Art. "Baden", and Art. "Eck", *Mennonitisches Lexikon*) to the Swiss Diet to debate Zwingli's teaching This challenge was given as early as August, 1524, and was considered a reply to the Zurich Disputations of 1523 which had been successful for Zwingli. In fact, as Dr. von Muralt points out (page 11f), it was Zwingli's original idea to present his evangelical teaching to the Catholic opponents throughout the Swiss Confederation. A "Concilium Helvetiorum" was planned by Zwingli and Wattenwyl of Bern as early as July, 1523, in which the basis for discussion should be the Holy Scripture and the language should be plain German and not Latin. The proposal by the Catholic Professor Eck was a political act. Eck was the foremost champion of the papal party in the Lutheran affair and the spokesman of the Pope in the Debate at Leipzig in 1519. Since the Zwinglian movement as early as 1520 was criticized as "Lutheran" there was political pressure from the Catholic opponents to crush the evangelical tendencies in Zurich by enforcing the laws issued by Pope Leo X and Emperor Charles V against Luther. Dr. von Muralt's thesis in his excellent study is, that the Baden Disputation was the Swiss parallel to the Diet of Worms (1521), and the Catholic Alliance of Regensburg (1524). The purpose was to achieve a general Swiss condemnation of Zwingli as an heretic and a revolutionary. The latter charge is especially interesting because its argumentation is much the same as that of the charges which the Zwinglian authorities brought against the Anabaptist Brethren. The activities of the Catholic Counterreformation are explained and officially pronounced as necessary to protect the social order of the Swiss Confederation against the revolutionizing effects of the Zwinglian movement. The reshaping of the old Church made the Catholic reactionaries fear for the order and discipline of the federal army and for the federal foreign policy in general. The author quotes several official Catholic statements (pages 2-4) which in their tenor hardly differ from those which the Zwinglian powers in Zurich, Bern and Basel issued against the Anabaptists. What the Zwinglian authorities attempted on a small scale concerning the latter was the purpose of the

Baden Disputation on a large scale, the extermination of the "Protestant" movement in Switzerland as a whole.

Dr. von Muralt shows very clearly how the political and ecclesiastical constitution of the Swiss Confederation prevented what the Catholic powers in and outside of Switzerland desired. What finally took place as the outcome of the Baden debate was a strict division between the Catholic Cantons, which were in the majority, and the Zwinglian Cantons. The Catholic Cantons put Zwingli under the ban and adopted *de facto* the decision of the Regensburg alliance of 1524 concerning the enforcement of the Edict of Worms (1521) to suppress the Protestant movement. This is one significant diplomatic success of the papal endeavor to combine the Catholic powers of Germany and Switzerland. On the other hand Zurich, Bern, Basel, Glarus, and Schaffhausen, where the Zwinglian movement was dominant, formed a league. the so-called "Christliches Burgrecht," (in which also the future common methods on how to crush the Anabaptist movement were prepared). The Disputation of Baden determined the final political settlement of the Swiss reformation, thus also settling the general political background of Anabaptism in Switzerland.

This first complete monograph on the Baden Disputation offers much to the student of Anabaptism in Switzerland. Here is a good opportunity to observe the entire political setting of Anabaptism. Besides that, several references to the Anabaptists were made in the course of the debate. Zwingli was charged by the Catholics with being responsible for the beginning of Anabaptism. They pointed out, that Zwingli, who demanded that nobody should be punished because of his belief, put his own friends (the Anabaptists) into prison (page 71). Joh. Eck is credited with the following interesting statement concerning the division of Zwingli's party: " . . . . . do standent vff die schwuermgeister, dort stand vff die bildstuermer, an einen andern ort die widerteuffer bis ouch kummen ist die rot (Rotte) mit dem becken brot . . . . ." (page 107). This shows—it is to be hoped with a good effect on some modern writers—how careful a close contemporary of the movement like Eck was in discriminating between fanatics, iconoclasts, and Anabaptists. A clever remark of the same Eck against Oecolampadius is reported on page 115. Oecolampadius had set up the principle that nothing should be accepted which is not in the Holy Scriptures whereupon Eck replied that on that basis the Anabaptists were right in rejecting infant baptism.

There was no reason for the author to discuss the part which the Anabaptists played in the Swiss Reformation. He simply takes the movement for granted. However the reader who is familiar with the Anabaptists can feel their working in the background of the Haupt-und Staatsaktion which Dr. von Muralt presents. A thorough study of the Swiss history at that time will demonstrate clearly the true importance of Anabaptism. And as the Zwinglian students of Anabaptism under the guidance of Professor Walther Koehler of the University of Zuirch develop an increasing understanding of the real character of Anabaptism and thus understand their own history better, so Mennonite historians should not hesitate to study Zwinglian history more thoroughly to understand Mennonite history better. Dr. von Muralt's book gives an opportunity for this very thing.

For those interested in Conrad Grebel the reference to Zwingli's book, *Archeteles,* a defense against the charges of heresy (1522), will be of value (page 8). It will be remembered that Conrad Grebel had just returned from the University of Paris and had barely begun to take an active part in the new religious movement of his native town. It was this young humanist of a leading Zurich family who contributed to his friend Zwingli's apology, a clever satire in the form of a Latin poem. We come in contact also with many of the persons mentioned in Grebel's correspondence as they appear in the description of the activities around the Baden Disputation. Among them are Benedikt Burgauer of St. Gall, Erasmus, Wilhelm de Falconibus, Sebastian Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, Klaus Hottinger, Balthaser Hubmaier, Leo Jud, Wolfgang Juffli (Wetter). Oswald Myconius, Wendelin Oswald, Anton Pucci, Dominicus Zilli.

Dr. von Muralt also shows (page 140) how the outcome of the Baden Disputation influenced Zwingli's attitude toward Junker Jakob Grebel, the Councilman of Zurich, Conrad's father, who, in the fall of 1526 was sentenced to death in a political trial. A more extensive treatment of this point would have been appreciated. We are glad to know that Professor Dr. W. .Koehler expects to have one of his students go into a thorough study of the Grebel case sometime. The whole matter of pensions in relation to the mercenary service of the Confederates and their foreign policy which plays such a vital part in the fate of the Grebel family stands out much more clearly in the light of Dr von Muralt's study. His remarks on this matter in the Introduction display skill in handling the sociological aspects especially in regard to the relation between the Zwinglian movement and Swiss politics, an aspect which also has a bearing on the nonresistant position of the Anabaptists.

Dr. von Muralt's bibliography is very useful. It contains two recent titles which also bear on the history of Swiss Anabaptism: Elsa Beuerle, *Der politische Kampf um die religioese Einheit der Eidgenossenschaft* 1520-27, Linz 1920, and J. Willi, *Die Reformation im Lande Appenzell,* Bern, 1924. We expected a critical reference to E. Escher, *Die Glaubenparteien in der Eidgenossenschaft und ihre Beziehungen zum Ausland, vornehmlich zum Hause Habsburg und zu den deutschen Protestanten,* 1527-1531, Zurich, 1882, and to W. Oechsli, *Die Anfaenge des Glaubenskonflikts zwischen Zurich und den Eidgenossen,* Winterthur, 1884. While the two latter titles have no immediate bearing on the Baden Disputation they do round up the subject under discussion.

Dr. von Muralt's study follows C. Bergmann's *Taeuferbewegung in Kanton Zurich bis* 1660 in the *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte.* It is to be hoped that some of the Anabaptist disputations will soon find a similar place in this valuable series.

It is of interest to know that Dr. Leonhard von Muralt is engaged in collecting and editing the entire archival material on the Anabaptists in the Canton of Zurich, under the auspices of the Deutscher Verein fuer Reformationsgeschichte. His impartial treatment of the Catholic side of the Baden Disputation, although he himself is a "Zwinglian", will guarantee a similar fairness in the presentation of the Anabaptist material.

Goshen, Indiana. Ernst Correll.

History of the Central Conference Mennonite Church. By WILLIAM B. WEAVER, M.A. Published by the Author, Danvers, Illinois, 1926, pp. 254. (Introduction by Emanuel Troyer, Field Secretary of the Central Conference).

Books on Mennonite history are so few that almost any book on any phase of that history is to be welcomed. But not only has Pastor Weaver written a book—he has made an original contribution to Mennonite history in a hitherto untouched field. The *History of the Central Conference Mennonite Church* is an enlargement of a recent Master's thesis at Northwestern University (Garrett Biblical Institute) giving the history of the youngest organized Mennonite group in America, a group with which Mr. Weaver, formerly Professor of History at Goshen College, has been associated as pastor since 1922, and in which he has held positions of leadership such as the editorship of the official organ, the *Christian Evangel* (1923 to the present with a brief interlude).

After three brief chapters (27 pages) on the historical background of American Mennonitism, chiefly on the Reformation and Menno Simons and the Mennonites of the early period in Europe, followed by a brief sketch of the origin of the Amish division in Switzerland in 1693f and the early immigration into Pennsylvania and Ohio, the author takes up the immigration of the Amish into Central Illinois. Here the heart of his story begins and here his original contribution commences. He traces the immigration into Central Illinois from Butler County, Ohio in 1829, and other sections such as Mifflin County, Pa., eastern Ohio, and direct from Europe in the period from 1829 to 1860, giving names and dates, and describing the circumstances of the movement. This is followed by a brief description of conditions in the pioneer communities in McLean and Woodford Counties.

The main part of the story is of course occupied with the history of the religious life of these Amish settlements. Since the mother church (if such it may be called) was the Danvers Church, the author traces its history from its organization in 1833 to 1872, the year in which it ceased to be affiliated with the other Amish Churches of the United States in a conference and became independent. It is not quite clear that this church is the present North Danvers Church, but apparently this is the case. A "Hessian" Mennonite Church was also organized at an early date in the same neighborhood, apparently the present South Danvers Church. We learn that the parent Church, called the "Yoder Church" after 1852, built in 1853 what is probably the first Amish Mennonite church house in America, and that in this building probably the first Sunday School in an Amish church house was held in 1869, the Sunday School itself having been started two years earlier (1867) in a school house.

Since the two outstanding leaders of this church were Bishop Jonathan Yoder, leader 1851-1869, and Bishop Joseph Stuckey, leader 1864-1898 (death 1902), two interesting chapters are devoted to these two men, whose character and work are ably and attractively presented. It was under Stuckey's progressive leadership that the withdrawal or separation from the Amish Conference took place, and likewise due to his leader-

ship that no affiliation with another conference of Amish or Mennonites was ever made. In view of this fact it is clear that Stuckey was the real "father" of the Central Conference Church as well as the spiritual "father" of his own flock. The other Amish Mennonites of Illinois were quite right in calling the group the "Stuckey Amish".

The author treats the account of the division from the Conference quite fairly but it is to be regretted that he did not specify in more detail the "progressive" attitudes of Father Stuckey which he thinks were more important causes of the division than the universalism of Joseph Yoder. One is made to wonder whether after all it was worth while for Stuckey to cling to one man who was plainly and outspokenly and even offensively (witness his propaganda with his pamphlets at the Amish Conferences) unorthodox in his advocation of universal salvation. Perhaps the universalistic attitude was more widespread than Mr. Weaver supposes. John F. Funk tells of receiving an order to print an edition of a hymnbook for the Stuckey Amish which he refused because the collection had carefully omitted all reference to the eternal damnation of the unregenerate and inserted some hymns with universalistic teaching.

The remainder of the books deals with the history and activities of the North Danvers parent Church, the expansion slowly for the first generation, the beginning of ministerial meetings in 1899, and the final organization of the Conference as a denomination in 1908 with twelve charter congregations under the name Central Illinois Conference of Mennonites, although there was one congregation in Nebraska and two in Indiana (in 1914 the name was changed by the omission of Illinois), concluding with the account of expansion and the reception of new congregations (a brief history of each being given), and an account of the activities of the conference in Home Missions, Foreign Missions, Publication, Sunday Schools, etc., including a story of the co-operative activities in which the Conference is engaged with other Mennonite groups such as the Congo Inland Mission, and the educational institutions at Bluffton, Ohio. A brief biography of Peter Schantz, the leader of the Conference after Stuckey's death until 1921, is added. Concluding chapters summarize the "Doctrine of the Church" and speak of the "Future of the Church".

A very valuable feature is a series of biographies of all the ministers who have served or are now serving the Central Conference. Another valuable feature is a number of sets of chronological data.

The history of the Central Conference as here presented is an interesting one and reveals a soundly conservative and live Mennonite group, which has of recent years grown very rapidly and become increasingly progressive. Notable events in the past five years have been accessions of a number of ministers (seven, all but one college graduates), and two congregations from the main branch of the Mennonites. The present leadership is aggressive and forward-looking, and apparently not yet quite ready to amalgamate with the General Conference Mennonites as they have been urged to do from several sources.

Mr. Weaver is to be congratulated on his work and it is to be hoped that the book will find a wide and ready sale. The substantial value of

the book merits recognition, a recognition which will not be seriously vitiated by a number of minor inaccuracies which should be noted. For instance, it is difficult to believe that the Hessian Mennonites mentioned on p. 42 were Mennonite and not Amish in view of the Amish character of the names, and the fact that there were Amish in Hesse. On page 39, the statement that Ammann introduced hooks and eyes instead of buttons is not true, also the inference that he began to put religious significance on long hair and beards. On both points Ammann was not an innovator but a conservator. After all "hooks and eyes" were not the most important thing about the Amish, nor were they the chief cause for division. It is not true that most of the Amish settlements in the western states were made from the original settlements in Berks and Lancaster Counties (page 40) for the majority of the Amish came from Europe directly or after one generation in America moved further west. The settlement of Amish in Indiana was made in 1841-2, not in 1840 (page 41). John Horsch is not an ordained minister, therefore not "Rev." (page 185). The distinguishing principles of Mennonitism as given on page 188 should surely include the principle of earnestness in application of the Gospel and the Bible to practical living, and it is a serious question as to whether "individualism" was a real essential principle of Mennonitism.

It is a question as to the best procedure in regard to the criticism of the obvious inaccuracies in the account which the author gives of the origin of the Mennonite (Anabaptist) movement in Europe. Mr. Weaver does not claim to be an authority on this phase of Anabaptist history so that he cannot be held directly responsible, and yet the misstatements must be corrected. The regrettable aspect of the case is that Mr. Weaver failed to use reliable authorities, and here the blame attaches at least to some extent to the professor at Garrett Biblical Institute under whom the Master's Thesis was prepared. Someone should write a standard and reliable "Introduction" which such writers in the future could use for their "background" chapters. Let readers please note that Anabaptism was not introduced by the Zwickau prophets (page 25), nor did they at all have "a very great influence on the early Anabaptist leaders of Switzerland" (page 26). It is not true that "some of these Wittenberg leaders and Zwickau prophets came to Switzerland and there taught their religious views" (page 26). It is not true "that the teachings of these men had a very decided effect on the Anabaptists" (page 26). In fact these are the very views which conscientious historians of the Mennonites have been trying to combat on the part of the state church maligners of the Mennonites for years, and to see them so emphatically stated by a Mennonite writer in 1926 is rather shocking.

The bibliography is characterized by a preponderance of good sources, of weak secondary material, and by the absence of the only English modern biography of Menno Simons.

Goshen, Indiana —H. S. Bender

Ready Scriptural Reasons. By Bishop George R. Brunk, Scottdale, Mennonite Publishing House, 1926, pp. 215

The content of the above title first appeared as a series of articles in the Gospel Herald, a periodical published by the Mennonite Publication Board at Scottdale, Pa., and were later revised by the author and published in book form.

In the subject matter treated, the book covers in a clear and concise way a range of subjects beginning with the qualifications of a Christian and concluding with a chapter on the final destiny of the saints. The book can not be said to be a theological treatise but the author rather emphasizes the practical side of Christianity and by means of questions and answers he sets forth the teachings of the Scripture on the subjects treated.

The book contains XXXII chapters and covers 215 pages. The following table of contents will be helpful to the reader in getting an idea of its subject matter.

> Becoming a Christian, Spiritual Health, Flesh and Spirit, Faith and Works, Christian Charity, Christian Joy, Christian Unity, The Christian's Association, Ordinances, Baptism (Mode), The Lord's Supper, Feet Washing, Devotional Covering, The Christian Salutation, Anointing with Oil, Marriage, Government and Leadership, Liberty of Conscience and Speech, Religious Loyalty, The Use and Abuse of the Word, Truth and Sincerity, Finding and Maintaining the Truth, The Drift and the Remedy, Non-Conformity to the World, Peace and Non-Resistance, Secret Orders, Swearing of Oaths, Life Insurance, Salary and Support, Destiny of the Wicked, Heaven.

Contents:

As will be noted some of the subjects discussed are of a general nature covering such subjects as the qualifications of a Christian, faith and works, etc. It will also be noted that much of the material deals with the peculiar teachings and practices of the Mennonite faith. In this group are to be found the chapters on Ordinances, Peace and Non-Resistance, Secret Orders, Life Insurance, etc. Still other chapters deal with subjects concerning which there is some difference of opinion among individuals as well as differences of interpretation by groups within and without the Church. Among these are the chapters on Church Government and Leadership, Liberty of Speech and Conscience, etc.

The book is well written, and with a few exceptions, the arguments are clear and logical. In a few instances individuals may disagree with the exegesis of certain Scriptures, but even so the reader will find much that is instructive and helpful and the book deserves a wide reading. The author is to be commended for what he has accomplished, while the Church cannot but profit by such an able presentation of the basic Scripture teachings.

Goshen, Indiana —S. C. Yoder.

NOTES

Mennonites in North Carolina

It has long been believed that among the various German and Swiss settlements in North Carolina in pre-Revolutionary times some Mennonites also were to be found, but hitherto no direct evidence has been discovered. Of the indirect evidence the most definite is that quoted by Smith in his *Mennonites of America,* page 189, from a letter written in 1773 to the church in Amsterdam, Holland, by some Franconia Mennonites. This letter names the various settlements of Mennonites in America ending with the statement, "To Virginia, Meriland, Schanatore (Shenandoah) and further to Carolina, where are many and large congregations". Smith also refers to a certain Hans Stauffer who immigrated to Carolina in 1710. A recent publication at last brings definite documentary evidence of the presence of Mennonites in Carolina in pre-Revolutionary times. The latest volume of the admirable series of publications containing the source material regarding the Moravians in North Carolina brings that definite evidence. The volume is Volume 3 of the series, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, Edited by* ADELAIDE L. FRIES, *Archivist of the Moravian Churches in America Southern Province,* and published by the North Carolina Historical Commission at Raleigh, 1926. Volume 3 covers the years 1776-1779 inclusive. The previous volumes, covering the years 1753-1775, which appeared in 1922 and 1925 respectively, contain no reference to Mennonites.

The contents of these volumes of Moravian Records consist of Diaries, Travel Diaries, and Memorabilia written by Moravian leaders and officials, which cover in detail events and affairs among the Moravians in North Carolina from 1753 to the present time, and which also include a large amount of record and observations of current affairs outside the circle of immediate Moravian interests.

The definite reference to Mennonites occurs incidentally in practically every case, and then in connection with difficulties over the Oath of Allegiance to the State and military service. The Moravians had refused to take the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance to the State which included a renunciation of fidelity to the King of England, and hence were threatened with losing their property and privileges and even being forced to emigrate. A delegation of two was sent to the Colonial Assembly to seek some amelioration of the Acts relating to these matters, which had been passed by the Assembly in November, 1777. The delegation appeared before the Assembly in August, 1778, and finally secured the passage of a Resolution on August 18, "That all Quakers, Moravians, Dunkards and Mennonists who shall before the sitting of the next General Assembly take the Affirmation of Allegiance prescribed by Law, shall be admitted to the Rights of Citizens". This quotation is to be found on page 1208.

On January 23, 1779 an Act was passed by the Assembly "Prescribing the Affirmation of Allegiance to be taken by Moravians, Quakers, Menonists and Dunkards; and permitting persons taking this Affirmation

before May 1st to re-enter land or enter caveat against other entires". On page 1290 a diarist complains that "We were indeed classed with the Quakers, Menonists and Dunkards, but at this time there is nothing else to do."

In a later portion of the book, from another source, a report is given of the delegation which appeared before the Assembly in August, 1778. In the course of this report reference is made again to the Act of August 18, 1778, and the form of Affirmation specified by this Act is given in full. The name *Mennonists* appears here as before, pages 1383, and 1384, respectively.

On pages 1396 and 1397 reference is made under date of January 9, 1779 at Halifax, to certain acts passed by the Assembly. The references are as follows: "Quakers, Menonists, Dunkards, Moravians, shall be exempted from a Draft." "Quakers, Moravians, Menonists, Dunkards, all who refuse taking Oath of Allegiance, pay 3-fold Tax."

On page 1397 the editor quotes directly from the Acts of Assembly of January, 1779, Chapter X, "An Act to prescribe the Affirmation of Allegiance & Fidelity to this State to be taken by the Unitas Fratrum or Moravians, Quakers, Menonists, and Dunkards, and granting them certain Indulgencies therein mentioned, and other Purposes." The first Article reads: "In order to quiet the Consciences and indulge the religious Scruples of the Sects called the Unitas Fratrum or Moravians, Quakers, Menonists, and Dunkards; . . . ."

On January 23, 1779 another Act was passed by the Assembly on petition of both Quakers and Moravians, modifying the form of the Affirmation of Allegiance so as to omit the abjuration of allegiance to the King of England. This was done on the request of a delegation of two Moravians, who report an exact copy of this Act. The concluding paragraph of that Act states that it was "Resolved that it shall extend to include the Menonists & Dunkers." This is reported on page 1431.

The remaining reference to Mennonites does not concern the Mennonites in North Carolina but those in Pennsylvania. It is found in a letter of Christian Heckewaelder to Graff, dated Bethlehem, Oct. 1, 1778. The following sentence is found: "A number of Mennonites in Sackona (Saucon?) were shamefully handled and lost everything because they would not take this Oath." The oath referred to is the Oath of Allegiance prescribed by the Assembly of Pennsylvania.

This exhausts the direct references to Mennonites listed in the index. Another possible source of information regarding Mennonites might be references to particular Mennonite individuals. However a check on the various names in the indices of the first three volumes shows apparently no Mennonite names, at least none that could be proved to be Mennonite. A few of the names which might be Mennonite turn out to refer to indubitable Moravians or other non-Mennonite persons.

The evidence presented above is thus drawn entirely from the Acts of the Assembly of North Carolina in 1778 and 1779. The mention of "Mennonists" in the statutes does not constitute absolute evidence in favor of the presence of "Mennonists" in North Carolina at this time but it

does constitute presumptive evidence to that effect. Why should the Assembly make provisions for Mennonists if there were none in the State? On the other hand this inclusion might have been dictated by the intent to make room for possible settlers of this group. But how would the Assembly have known of Mennonists in that event? The Moravians did not include the Mennonists and Dunkards in their petitions and negotiations; in fact, as one statement quoted above indicates, they resented being classed with these sects.

It is to be hoped that before long someone will search carefully the Archives of the State of North Carolina, as well as the local archives and records of the communities containing German and Swiss settlements with a view to fixing definitely the ascertainable facts concerning the presence of Mennonites in that State.

The reference to Mennonites in these Moravian diaries suggests the value of the similar diaries and records of the Moravians of Pennsylvania as a source concerning early Mennonite history in that colony. Apparently no one has yet made use of such material to any great extent if at all.

Additional evidence of the existence of Mennonites in North Carolina, though at a much later date, is found in a note in the *Herald of Truth* for May, 1866. The note is here presented entire.

> "Bro. Christian Shenk of Harrisonburgh, Virginia, writes in answer to a letter previously written to him, that some time during the war, from a conversation which he had with a soldier from the south, he learned that there was a Mennonite Church in the state of North Carolina, but he did not learn in what county. The soldier said his name was Ginnings, that his father was a member of the Mennonite Church and that he had moved from Virginia some years ago. He further said that they had a church there and four ministers, and they were exempted from bearing arms by the Governor of North Carolina, by paying a commutation fee."

According to J. F. Funk, proprietor and editor of the *Herald of Truth* for several decades, J. S. Coffman was sent to visit the Mennonites in North Carolina soon after his coming to Elkhart, probably in the period 1880-1885. Funk states that Coffman reported on his visit by letter in the columns of the *Herald of Truth* but the letter could not be located. According to the memory of Funk, Coffman found the group very much disorganized and not recognizable as Mennonites and concluded that the case was hopeless.

The Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College is taking steps to investigate and secure all available information regarding the history of the Mennonites in North Carolina.

—H. S. Bender.

A Valuable Accession to the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College

The Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College recently secured a very valuable volume containing some early American Mennonite literature. The volume is in fact composed of four separate items bound together to make a book about five by seven inches, two inches thick. The original binding is still on the sides, but the back was recased and resewed several decades ago according to its appearance.

When the book was ordered its contents had not been thoroughly examined, hence at that time it was not known that more than one book was contained in the volume. The volume was bought as the first volume of *Ein Geistliches Magazien,* printed by Christoph Saur at Germantown in 1764, as the title page reads. This "Spiritual Magazine" was the first religious magazine printed in America and was issued on the average once per month in the years 1764 to 1769, a total of fifty numbers being issued. Each number is composed of eight pages. For Mennonites, numbers 33, 40, and 41 are of especial interest since they consist of productions in German from the pen of Christopher Dock. Number 33 contains a letter of admonition from Dock to his former pupils: numbers 40 and 41 contain *One Hundred Necessary Ethical Rules for Children.* The volume is of considerable value and interest to Mennonites and was bought at a reasonable price. It is quite rare.

On closer examination it was discovered that the book also contains the second volume of *Ein Geistliches Magazien.* According to Brumbaugh in his *Life and Writings of Christopher Dock,* this second volume is composed of fourteen numbers, the last one being numbered fifteen instead of fourteen. Number fifteen contains two poems by Christopher Dock. Unfortunately only thirteen numbers are found in the present volume, the number containing Dock's hymns being omitted. This second volume is very rare. In fact Flory in his *Literary Activity of the Brethren in the 18th Century,* states that there is only one complete set known. This set was in the library of former Governor Pennypacker of Pennsylvania and was purchased by the Pennsylvania State Library at Harrisburg. It is possible however that there are other complete sets in addition to the second now in the possession of the Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College.

On the fly-leaf of volume one of the *Geistliches Magazien* is written the following notice: *Ich, Johannes Theobald Lichtie, habe dieses Geistliche Magazien mit grossem Fleiss und Begir und Liebe in Zeit von Fuenff Jahren mit der Zeitung gesammlet und es in Ephrata einbinden lassen. Kost 3 Sch. Symbolum, Soli Deo Gloria. A. D.* 1770, *d.* 17. *April.*. At the end of volume one the owner had written on a blank page a description of the very hard winter of 1784. Another had written of the price of wheat and flour in May, 1790, wheat costing 14 shillings (the bushel?) and a barrel of flour three pounds and six shillings.

After the *Geistliches Magazien* a little booklet of forty pages is bound in the volume, entitled, *Zeugnis der Wahrheit, Oder eines Christen Gedancken von der vergangnnen und von der kuenfftigen Reformation.*

Erstlich in Frankfurt und Leipzig 1760, *nun aber zu Germantown gedruckt bey Chr. Saur,* 1763. A very interesting note is written on the back of the title page in German. It reads as follows: *Dieses dienet zur Nachricht wenn jemand wissen wollte wann der Krieg mit den Amerikanern hat angefangen. So ist A. D.* 1774 *den* 13*ten Mai der General Gage von England zu Boston mit seinen Truppen angelangt, und A. D.* 1777, *d.* 26*ten September ist die Stadt Philadelphia von den Englandern unter den Lord Cornwallis in Besitz genommen worden und da ist die Druckerei gestoppet worden wo dann auch die Geistliche Magazienen ihr end genommen haben. Soli Deo Laus et Gloria.* This little notice is written in the same hand as the notice at the ver front of the book, that is by Johannes Theobald Lichtie.

However the most interesting and valuable part of the volume for Mennonites is the last booklet which is bound with the other three items. It is the second edition of the *Schulordnung* by Christopher Dock, printed by Christopher Saur at Germantown in 1770. The *Schulordnung is quite* rare, in fact it is not certain that more than one copy of it is in the possession of Mennonites anywhere in America. One copy of the second edition is known to be in the possession of a member of the Mennonite Church in Ontario.

At the close of the *Schulordnung* a manuscript English translation of numbers two and three of the second volume of the *Geistliches Magazien* are bound in. From the nature of the paper, the color of the ink, as well as from the old forms used for several of the letters, notably the "s", the manuscript was probably written at a very early date.

This recent accession to the Mennonite Historical Library at the College is then a rather remarkable volume. It is due to the interest of Johannes Theobald Lichtie, whoever he was, that the various items were collected and bound together, and thus preserved to the present day. The entire volume is in practically perfect condition.

—H. S. Bender.

Research on the Relations between Friends and Mennonites in Europe in the Seventeenth Century

Two hundred and seventy-five years ago the first Quakers crossed the Channel from England to bring their revolutionary Christian message to the countries on the continent. At first they found reception in Mennonites communities in Holland along the Rhine and in northwest Germany, and although the Mennonites soon found it undesirable to continue close affiliations with them the contact has left its impress on the history of Mennonitism. No doubt the most obvious and significant result of the connection was the initiation of the Mennonite migration to Pennsylvania, the land which the Quaker emissaries offered to the harassed new-found friends. Research on Quaker-Mennonite relations from 1650 on is bound to shed new light on Mennonite history, both in regard to this migration and in regard to the history of the more prominent Mennonite communities of the time such as Crefeld, Hamburg, etc.

Mennonites will welcome the word that this very research has been

undertaken and that some of the results will soon be published in "Mitteilungen fuer die Freunde des Quakertums, Monatsblaetter aus der deutschen Quakerbewegung", a monthly published by an organization called "Friends of Quakerism", and issued from a "Quaker-Verlag" in Leipzig. It might be stated by way of explanation that this organization is not composed of German Quakers directly but is closely related to the real Quakers in Germany, who have been developing missionary work there quite effectively and now have a slowly growing membership. The "Friends of Quakerism" is supported by a number of leading Germans. A letter from Mr. Wilhelm Hubben, editor of the German-Quaker monthly mentioned above, states that he has prepared a collection of source-material on the relations of Quakers and Mennonites in the earlier period which will be published in the near future. His researches will continue. Recently Mr. Hubben, whose address is St. Toeniserstrasse 65, Crefeld, Germany, published a study on the Quakers along the lower Rhine in the "Zeitschrift fuer Rheinische Kirchen-Geschichte".

A history of the Quakers in Hamburg, 1650-1700, is now being published. As soon as the publications referred to are received, the Review will give extended reports of the same.

—Ernst Correll.

Death of Ernst Mueller and Dr. Rudolph Wolkon

On April 3, 1927 occurred the death of Pastor Ernst Mueller of Langnau, Switzerland in his 78th year. Dr. Mueller, had been pastor in the Swiss State Reformed Church at Langnau for 43 years and was noted for his leadership in humanitarian activities in the community. His significance for Mennonites lies in the fact that he published in 1895 a notable book on the history of the Bernese Mennonites, *Geschichte der Bernischen Taeufer. Nach den Urkunden dargestellt von Ernst Mueller.*

A short time after the death of Dr. Mueller occurred the death of Professor Dr. Rudolf Wolkan at Vienna, in his 67th year. Dr. Wolkan was Professor in the University of Vienna in the department of Renaissance Literature. However he has also done notable work in Anabaptist history, particularly in his *Die Lieder der Wiedertaeufer* which was published in 1903 at Berlin, his book on the Hutterites, *Die Hutterer,* and in 1923, the edition of the large history of the Hutterites, called *Geschicht-buch der Hutterischen Brueder.*

A thorough review and appraisal of the work of both Mueller and Wolkan will appear in an early issue of the *Review.*

New Instalments of the Mennonitisches Lexikon

Since the first volume of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* was completed and issued in bound form in 1925, two additional instalments of 48 pages each have appeared, the 16th in the autumn of 1925, and the 17th in the early part of 1927. It is to be regretted that financial difficulties handicap the issue of this splendid work so seriously. In view of a more extended review of the two new instalments which will appear in the next issue, it will be sufficient here to call attention to some of the more

prominent and lengthy articles, the subjects of which with authors here follow.

Friesland by *K. Vos,* Froschauer Bibel by *A. Fluri,* Funk and Funkites by *E. Correll,* Fusswaschen (Footwashing) by *Chr. Neff,* Galenus Abrahams de Haan by *C. B. Hylkema,* Galicia by *Neff,* Gebet (Prayer) by *J. Kroeker,* Gegenreformation (Counterreformation) by *J. Loserth,* Gemeinde (Church) by *E. Haendiges,* Gemeindezucht (Church Discipline) by *Neff,* Geneva by *P. Kennel,* Ghent by *K. Vos,* Germantown by *Correll,* Gesangbuecher (Song-books) by *Neff,* Geschichtbuch der Maehrischen Taeufer (Chronicle-Book of the Hutteries) by *J. Loserth,* Geschichtschreibung (Mennonite Historiography) by *Chr. Hege.*

A reprint of the last mentioned article may be secured from the author and editor at Frankfurt A. M., Germany, Rothschildallee 33. The *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* Volume I, as well as the new instalments are on sale by the Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen College.

THE KAUENHOWEN, (COUWENHOVEN, COUDENHOVE, COWENHOVEN FAMILY

Request for Informatino

Dr. Kauenhowen, Calsowstrasse 40, Goettingen, Germany, who is writing a history of the Kauenhowen family, is desirous of securing information about the American branch of this family. The Kauenhowen family was originally a Dutch Mennonite family of which one branch settled in Danzig, Germany. The name has been variously spelled in America—Couwenhoven, Coudenhove, Cowenhoven. *The Magazine of Western History* for January 22, 1896 contains a portrait of Henry P. Cowenhoven who died in Aspen, Colorado. Readers having any information bearing on the family in America will kindly communicate with Dr. Kauwenhowen in Goettingen directly or through the Mennonite Historical Society at Goshen, Indiana.

Corrigenda

The review of the *Gedenkschrift zum 400 jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Mennoniten,* which appeared in the last (April, 1927) number of the REVIEW should be corrected in the following points. Page 76, line 8, 1927 should be 1925. In the last paragraph on the same page the statement that Marbeck mentions a number of Anabaptists in his *Vermahnung* is incorrect. The list is given by Walpurga von Pappenheim in an unpublished document which is to be found in the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich. Page 77, in the next to the last paragraph, the number of Mennonites in America should be 303,000 instead of 283,000.

On page 32 of this issue the third line should precede the econd.